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PREFACE.

SUCH a volume of Modern History as is presented in the following pages to the public can be little else than a compilation, claiming no other merits than those of succinctness, accuracy, and comprehensiveness. Without hesitation or limit, the Author has freely made use of other men's labours; comparing them diligently, however, with original authorities, and arranging the results in a correct perspective, of course according to the honest convictions of his own mind. He has looked upon the visible world as an arena provided by Providence, in which the Church of Almighty God is to be erected; and as the narrative of events had necessarily to be compressed within the smallest possible compass, references and discussions are omitted, and summaries substituted for details. At the same time, the writer has endeavoured to render his work interesting to general readers; aiming sometimes at panoramic sketches, with a variety of lights and shadows, so as to alike avo-

the prolixity of annals and the dry dulness of an abridgment. He is thoroughly persuaded of the truthfulness of what he has asserted or described, after years of attention to the subject, and a laborious investigation of those matters which have been fairly controverted or intentionally misrepresented.

CHESTER HILL HOUSE,
Woodchester.

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MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRRUPTION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE BARBAROUS NATIONS ON THE RUINS OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

WHILST the Cæsars were erecting their temporal dominion over an empire extending from Scotland to Mount Atlas and the cataracts of the Nile, and from the Pillars of Hercules to Persia, the Christian Church, the kingdom of God upon earth, was being silently but effectively founded. It possessed within itself the essence of vitality and duration, and was to be the wonder, the salt, and the life of the world. Grandeur, philosophy, and science easily overlooked its commencement and progress, until it emerged from the catacombs; but in the course of years, there it was, with its seat and centre at Rome, and with its ramifications extending throughout the whole earth. At first nursed in poverty, the hearts of millions hastened to acknowledge its sway, and pour their offerings at its feet. It gradually developed, as might be expected in the analogy of nature; for though its innermost soul, as the divine image of Almighty God, never could vary, yet it had to be embodied in a visible form, and to aggregate to its external career all manner of circumstances. Martyrs shed their blood like water, and confessors endured torments without parallel; but still, the more it was persecuted the more it advanced. Storms

rooted and imbedded each foundation the more deeply, while sunshine and calm tested its excellence in other, and often more appropriate, ways. At length it came to be recognised, even by foes and strangers, as a reality, and was discovered to possess wealth, and power, and influence upon a colossal scale. Its wealth, however, was the patrimony of the poor; its power was exercised to restrain the evil passions of man; and its influence was exerted for eternity. Those who sat in the chair of the Prince of the Apostles wielded a jurisdiction whose right was derived from heaven, but which was submitted to by the faithful with a loyalty not less voluntary than it was religious. In the beginning of the fourth century Constantine adopted the Cross as his banner, and scattered imperial beneficence over all Christendom. His donations were enormous, as we may see from what he did for the Lateran Basilica under Pope St. Sylvester, for that single edifice received presents to the extent of 68,000*l.* sterling in gold and silver ornaments; to say nothing of the cost of architectural workmanship. He settled on it a large property, producing at least 10,000*l.* per annum, and awarded it a yearly allowance of 150 pounds weight of frankincense for the altar-services; in due proportion every important city came in for a share of munificence and benefactions; and every rank of Christians imitated his example. The Church was enthroned on her Seven Hills; eight hundred bishops in the West, and a thousand more in the East, acknowledged the Great Centre of Unity, and thence was dispensed in all conceivable directions a stream of bountiful almsgiving, which refreshed the vast spiritual vineyard wherever need required it. The reign of Rome as a religious power, embodying the kingdom of Christ, culminated as Paganism declined; the temples of the latter had become silent and forsaken; nor could the pretensions of secular imperialism afford much greater promises of stability.

Indeed, the contrast appears not less affecting than extraordinary. Augustus and his best successors had veiled their grand yet illusive domination beneath the decent costume of republican or constitutional forms; Septimius

Severus carried his sword of government unsheathed in military sternness; while Diocletian went a step further, introducing oriental despotism without disguise. Three centuries had not elapsed since the Incarnation, before the Roman emperors were assuming their diadems, revelling in pomp and purple, substituting parade for simplicity, and trying to impose themselves as genuine divinities upon mankind. Their court presented a blaze of pageantry; but it was the putrescent glare of corruption. Four immense prefectures, subdivided into 116 provinces, paid abject homage to their masters; but the spirit of former ages had expired; while genius, elegance, taste, poetry, and eloquence were no more: justice, no longer blindfolded, extended an itching palm for bribes, amidst the technicalities of law and the logomachy of unprincipled advocates; officials multiplied as society decayed; the refinements of the day promised much, and performed little; spies and informers infested the state; nor will it escape notice, that equity could scarcely survive, when the minor wheels of government were so numerous and complicated as to perplex their natural motions. Taxation grew worse and worse; every department of the public revenue, which might under Constantine have amounted to about 60,000,000*l.*, equivalent to at least 80,000,000*l.* of our own era, got into inextricable entanglement. Extravagance and recklessness pervaded all ranks; agriculture declined; oppression throve; profligacy flourished; family privileges and ties were perpetually violated, and the sceptre had hardened into a rod of iron. Upon slight pretences, parents were torn from their children, and children from their parents, to be examined or punished for crimes unknown, but of which some incoherent confession was wrung by torture. Vain and hollow were the allurements of luxury surrounding the palaces of despotism; vain and worthless were the amusements of a corrupt circus, emasculating or undermining the morals of an impoverished people; vain the gilded chariots, the milk-white horses, the matchless equipages, the liveried slaves, the plate and opulence of the wealthy, the powerful, and the proud, amidst the execrations of the poor, and the daily misery of millions.

No classes had more degenerated than the military. Their pay had augmented, and their uniforms were more costly than ever; but where were the veterans of antiquity? Soldiers had come to covet the worst habits of the metropolis; their beds were of the softest down, and their cups heavier than their swords; and though fierce in manner towards the victims of their rapacity, they trembled before an enemy in the field. In fact, all maxims even of common prudence amongst military men had given way to the torrent of the times, while innumerable civil wars had compelled rival competitors for the purple to relax the reins of discipline. Old barriers of order were thus one after another successively broken down, confusion or licentiousness enfeebled the camp, and each generation surpassed the vices of their predecessors. Dark and murky clouds were now gathering upon the horizon.

It has been well observed, that a war carried on in China, of which no European in those ages ever heard, had, even before the days of the Antonines, given rise to calamities, through the consequences of which the western empire of Rome was doomed to fall. The mountaineers of Altai, who dressed their children in arms, taught them to ride on huge dogs instead of horses, manufactured arrows for the use of the young or the old, and lived upon the flesh of foxes,—in other words, the Huns, who quaffed strong liquors out of the skulls of their enemies, were, at a date corresponding with the latter years of Domitian, thoroughly defeated by their southern neighbours the Chinese. Certain tribes of the vanquished, preferring exile to vassalage, emigrated westward with all their herds into the deserts of Dsongar, on the side of Turfan, and onwards to Mamaralnahar and the Caspian Sea. Finding in those regions fine pastures, and a favourable country for the chase, they halted there for an interval; until, as the Romans relate, under the Emperor Valens, they descended from their snowy mountains, a swarm of unknown savages, begotten by devils from the forest sorceresses of the north; —distinguished by uncommon strength, swiftness of foot, keenness of eye, skilfulness in archery, management of [redacted]y, and extreme ugliness of person. The pursuit of a

hind in hunting conducted them accidentally to a ford over the Mæotic morass, by which means their passage into Europe was laid open, when it is said that they immediately offered up their first living captives to the ghosts of ancient chiefs in human sacrifice. Hermanrick, king of the Goths, reigned then over all the countries of Sarmatia, Germany, and Scandinavia, from the Euxine to the Baltic; but he was assassinated, according to the chronicles, in the 110th year of his patriarchal life. At all events, his death preceded the calamities of his people. The Goths themselves, under their two denominations of the Visigoths, or Westerns, whose leaders derived their origin from the house of Balti, and the Ostrogoths, or Easterns, of the family of Amalu, were overwhelmed by the new-comers from Scythia; and thus precipitated upon the Roman provinces, they formed the first wave of the barbarian deluge, pushed forward by billow behind billow of roving populations. Valens, as is well known, in an evil hour allowed them to cross the Danube; detecting his error only when it was too late, he at last resolved to arrest their progress in the plains of Adrianople. But it was too late; the vultures, if not the eagles of victory, had perched upon the Gothic standards, and on the 9th of August, A.D. 378, the Romans suffered a frightful overthrow. The emperor fled, after receiving a severe wound; and taking refuge at last in the hut of a peasant, where he lay concealed beneath the thatch, a party of the barbarians set fire to it, and he perished in the flames.

Such was the tocsin of penal doom which heralded the wrath of the Almighty. The future career of the Goths was a varied path of robbery and slaughter, illustrated by the sack and plunder of Rome under Alaric, the 24th of August, A.D. 404. This hero of the Visigoths died at Cozenza in his thirty-fourth year, and was there buried in the bed of its river, artificially turned aside for the purpose, that a flowing stream might conceal the grave, where he rested from his deeds of renown. His people ultimately passed into Gaul, taking possession of those ample territories which stretch from the Rhone and the Loire to the feet of the Pyrenees. Not satisfied with

these, they crossed the Spanish barrier, and founded a kingdom on the banks of the Bætis and the hilly regions of Portugal, where, however, the Vandals and Alemanni had got before them, two nations alike destined for illustrious fortunes.

Meanwhile, away went one member after another of the guilty empire. The Scots transferred themselves from Ireland into Caledonia, where a part of their tribes had dwelt from a remote period, and grievously oppressed Britain: Pharamund, at the head of his Franks, effected a settlement in the Netherlands: Gundichar or Guntherus, chief of the Burgundians, took possession of the Upper Rhine, and held his court at Worms. By degrees the Heruli and Rugians came down through Silesia and Moravia into Noricum or Austria, while the Lombards seized a portion of Pannonia. Some of the best towns in Thrace fell into the hands of the Ostrogoths; nor in the west are the Suevi and the Saxons to be forgotten. No flights of locusts were at first more fatal. Gardens and villas were laid waste with fire and sword; cities were transformed into wildernesses; and when the bow and the spear had ceased to destroy, famine and pestilence completed the desolation; nor could the description of St. Jerome and Isidore of Seville be considered an overcharged one, in assuring us, that when all Spain had been blasted by its barbaric invasions, "mothers nourished the last hours of their exhausted lives with the flesh of their own children; and that when war, and plague, and hunger, gave a moment of repose, wild beasts came down without disturbance or dread to devour the corpses of the defenceless towns!" Without dwelling on the Quadi, or the Alani, or the Sarmatians, or the Gepidi, it may be proper to glance for a moment rather more particularly at the Franks, the Saxons, the Vandals, the Huns, the Heruli, and the Ostrogoths.

The first of these, in the third century, emerged from obscurity as a military confederation amidst the wastes and swamps of Lower Germany, and crossing the Rhine, afforded protection to many cities in Gaul upon the fall of the Western Empire. The renowned Clovis, whose race

had established themselves in the Low Countries, was the Alexander of their nation. At nineteen years of age he defeated and crushed Syagrius, a Roman lieutenant, which event secured the permanence and independence of the Frankish monarchy; and in two-thirds of a generation he united into one realm all the country from the Maese to the Pyrenees. His valour had prudence for its direction: and indeed he had great need of both when the Alemanni encountered him upon the plain of Tolbiac, near Zulpich, in the district of Juliers, A.D. 496. Clovis had always favoured the Catholic prelates of Gaul, and his marriage with Clotilda, an orthodox Burgundian princess, pleased them still more; for it was naturally hoped he might one day become a Christian of the best kind, two of his sons having been already baptised. Clovis was now thirty years old, full of fire and ambition. In the fury of the battle of Tolbiac, when all seemed going against him, he raised his hands to heaven, and invoked the God of his beloved consort; a victory ensued of the most triumphant character, and at once opened his eyes to discern the folly of paganism,—whilst St. Remigius, the eloquent Bishop of Rheims, was ready to instruct his young sovereign. Clovis and many of the Franks were publicly admitted to the laver of regeneration, and, as faithful sons to the Holy See, bravely asserted the spiritual privileges of St. Peter, although the vast bulk of nominal Christendom supported the Arian heresy. It was thus that the Merovingian dynasty consolidated its power. Clovis had secured the old Salic settlements of his people by taming the Thuringians, while the Armorican republic in Bretagne, and the remnant of the Roman legions in Gaul, reconciled themselves with the Franks. Meantime fresh enemies were at hand. The kingdom of the Burgundians, defined by the course of the Saone and the Rhone, extended from the forests of Vosges to the Alps and the harbour of Marseilles. Gundobald, the monarch of this fine region, was the uncle of Clotilda; and, zealous in theological error, he had quarrelled with his Catholic clergy, who had turned their attention solely to their religious duties, amidst much oppression and unjust suspicions of disloyalty. When their bishops had assembled

at Lyons, the Burgundian prince, conscious of his own spiritual delinquencies, proceeded to sound the intentions of this reverend conclave with regard to the Frankish potentate, whose father-in-law he had murdered, together with another of his own brothers. He received this striking answer from Avitus, the prelate of Vienne, who spoke in the name of his brethren: "We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the king of the Franks; but we are taught by the Scripture, that kingdoms abandoning the divine law are frequently subverted, and that enemies will arise on every side against those who have made God their enemy: return with thy people to the law of God, and He will give peace and security to thy dominions." Clovis, who had already declared war, obtained a decisive victory over him, A.D. 500; and thirty-four years afterwards the Burgundians were absorbed among the possessions of the Merovingian family. Clotilda, who survived long enough to witness this consummation, always seems to have possessed considerable influence over her husband. She promoted, by her exhortations, about seven years after the great defeat of Gundobald, an assault upon the Visigothic provinces of Aquitain, which were then governed by a successor and namesake of the mighty Alaric, with whom was afterwards fought the sanguinary battle of Poictiers, in which Clovis met and slew his adversary. All those ample and fertile territories from the Loire to the frontiers of Spain were united to the kingdom of France. The Alemanni and the Bavarians of Rhætia and Noricum, to the south of the Danube, confessed themselves its tributaries, and the rich cities of Arles and Marseilles were subsequently acquired,—which latter still imported from the Orient wines, oils, linens, silks, precious stones, and spices; nor did any thing of Gaul remain to the Visigoths, except Septimania—a narrow slip of sea-coast running from the Rhone to the Pyrenees.

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were thus being established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, which the Romans had ultimately evacuated about the year 420, having really lost [illegible]minion over it at least ten years before. Scourged,

as its inhabitants now were, by the Scots and Picts, their sovereign Vortigern brought in Hengist and Horsa, a couple of daring adventurers, whose countrymen had already made themselves masters on the continent of Holstein, Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friesland, Holland and Zealand. From the Isle of Thanet, where they first landed, their followers extended their limits rapidly; and the Jutes and Angles, with Frisians, Danes, Prussians, Rugians, and even some migratory Huns, soon joined them. During a period elapsing from A.D. 455 to A.D. 582, the famous Heptarchy was founded, and the aboriginal Britons were driven westward into Wales and Cornwall. Arthur, and the knights of his Round Table, have shed a halo of shadowy renown over the Silures of South Wales; but for the most part fruitless resistance aggravated the horrors of invasion. Fields of battle might be traced, as Gibbon says, almost in every district, by monuments of bones; fragments of falling towers, and towns rendered little better than so many heaps of ruins, were stained with blood; for the ferocious Saxon trampled on the laws of emperors, the rights of nations, and the religion of the vanquished, neither age nor sex exciting mercy. Latin, as the language of science, business, refinement, and conversation, disappeared; husbandry, where not destroyed, seemed languid and unskilful; ample wastes of wood and morass returned to a state of nature;—nor was the entire territory in the North, from the Tyne to the Tees, aught else than a savage and solitary forest. Heathenism darkened the scene; until in a happier hour St. Gregory sent his saintly missionaries from Rome, to gather our rude ancestors into the pale of the Church.

Another seafaring people, as hardy as the Saxons,—the Vandals,—were supposed to have been at an early date identical in their origin with the Goths; at all events, in the second century their numerous tribes had spread along the banks of the Oder, as well as the coasts of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. As the empire declined, they rushed down upon its spoils; and we hear of their exploits in Pannonia, Gaul, and Spain. They appeared to be wolves in the shape of warriors; and wherever they settled for any length of time, they blighted all around them. From the

shores of Carthagena, Count Boniface, the Roman governor of Africa, invited them for his allies against a treacherous rival at the imperial court, under Valentinian III. Their king at this period was Gizericus, so well known as the terrible Genseric, a chieftain of middling stature but vast designs,—with a depth of dissimulation not uncommon to barbarians, and yet possessing habits of personal temperance more than usually rare. He landed in May, A.D. 429, on the beach of Mauritania, where he reviewed an army of his followers, who in twenty years had marched from the Elbe to the Straits of Gibraltar, and whose hopes were now only bounded by Mount Atlas. The seven fruitful regions, from Tangier to Tripoli, had long deserved the name and fame of one common granary to Rome and Italy, though in its large cities and populous towns there appeared abundance of discontent as well as prosperity amongst the inhabitants. St. Augustine, the glorious bishop of Hippo Regius, had in vain attempted to heal the absurd schism of the Donatists; but happily for himself, death released him from his labours before the Arianism of the Vandals consummated and crowned the national misfortunes. Count Boniface, who had summoned for his private aid an insatiable assailant of all that had ever been held dear, whether human or divine, discovered his error only when it proved too late. Religious divisions strengthened the hands of the destroyer, while hordes of wandering Moors from the borders of the desert flocked to his banners. In vain was assistance invoked from Constantinople, and furnished by the Emperor Theodosius Junior; defeat baffled the imperialists, and within nine or ten years Carthage itself had fallen (9th October, A.D. 439). The sack of the African capital only preceded, by somewhat less than sixteen years, a yet more remarkable calamity. Genseric had grown rich upon his conquests, which had enabled him to form a naval power. The woods of Mount Atlas once again floated on the Mediterranean; and a fleet, from that harbour whence the Hamilcars and Hannibals of former ages had sailed, now ravaged Sicily, plundered Palermo, and at the mouth of the Tiber disembarked the victorious Vandals. The mediation of St. Leo

but had penetrated themselves into the country between that river and the Theiss, where, in an immense village surrounded by palisadoes, stood the wooden palace of their sovereign. Here Attila reigned and revelled, and numerous tribes, from the Volga to Hungary, reverenced his commands. It was supposed that when he pleased he could march at the head of 700,000 men: at all events, his enormous host had but one soul, every motion being decided by the nod of their supreme ruler, whose pride was to be thought, as he was styled, 'The Scourge of God.' His large head, disproportioned to his small body, displayed deep-seated eyes, flashing ferocity upon his attendants, to whom he would declare, that the grass never grew where his horse's hoofs had trodden. Such was the despotic king of the Nomades, whom the Vandal enticed towards the rich realms of Thoulouse and Ravenna. Having first sacrificed his brother Bleda, that no civil disturbance might occur during his absence, he raised the Sword of Mars on a rustic altar, and set out for the Rhætian frontier. Passing the Rhine at Basle, and routing the Burgundians, who had waited for him at the transit, he pressed on to the celebrated field of Châlons, where he so far failed, that although the Visigothic monarch was slain, he retreated for the time, and postponed until the spring of the following year, A.D. 452, his fatal aggression against Italy. Honoria, a sister of the emperor, a princess of doubtful reputation, had offered to be his bride whenever he should claim her; and with this additional allurement, so mortifying to the imperial household, Attila burned for satisfaction. In vain Aquileia opposed his progress. Myriads, it is true, expired beneath her fortifications, so that, after three months, a whisper ran that the tents of the besiegers were to be struck the next morning; when, as the enraged chieftain rode round the walls, he observed a stork preparing to leave her nest and its young ones, in an old half-ruined tower, which he seized upon as an omen denoting destruction for the city and empire. Every effort his people had yet made was renewed, and redoubled: a breach was effected in that very wall whence the bird had taken her flight;

the hunters of the wilderness bounded on their prey with irresistible fury; and Venice, instead of Aquileia, became the future Queen of the Adriatic. But the tide of battle rolled on. Males able to fight or labour were sold into slavery, or oftener put to the sword; while women and children endured a fate far worse. Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes; Montefilice, Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, Milan, and Pavia, were rifled and defaced; the fertile plains of modern Lombardy withered before the dire progress of massacre and military violence; and it was not until Attila halted at Ravanna, that the plague was in any degree stayed. He entered there, through an opening made in the ramparts by the inhabitants themselves, that their submission to his will might be manifested. When the entire Peninsula, from the Alps to the Straits of Messina, now trembled with terror, St. Leo, the Pope of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. Even an infidel historian has eloquently described the introduction of the pontiff into the tent of the conqueror. "His pressing intercession, his majestic aspect, and sacerdotal robes, excited veneration for the spiritual father of the Christians;"—Attila acknowledged the successor of the Apostles;—bridled his wrath amidst the spoils of a hundred unfortunate cities, and retraced his steps, to die shortly afterwards in the debauchery of a bridal carouse, A.D. 453. The Eastern empire had fully shared with the West in the bitter chastisements inflicted by these formidable foes;—but that night the Emperor Marcian, at Constantinople, dreamed that the bow of the Huns had broken.

Meanwhile, a series of pale and insignificant phantoms were successively promoted to the imperial diadem of Rome. After the assassination of Valentinian III., his murderer Maximus was followed by Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos; and last of all Momyllus Augustulus, A.D. 455-476 or 9. During this period, however, a barbarian Count Ricimer, for many years in reality administered the government of Italy; putting down one, and setting up another emperor, according to

his will, which alike ruled the obsequious senate and an impoverished people. Disclaiming the name of king, he nevertheless plundered Rome, A.D. 472, and died forty days afterwards, 20th August, of a painful disease, leaving behind him immense treasures, and a specific precedent for some equally fortunate adventurer to imitate, as opportunity offered. Amongst the natives adhering to the Huns were the Heruli, whose native seat had been Pomerania, whence they gradually moved southward together with the Rugians, the Skirri, and the Turtzlingians, savages wrapt in raw hides. Reaching the neighbourhood of Vienna, they had advanced from Austria first into Pannonia; where their most gallant leader dying, and leaving two sons, Onulf and Odoacer, the former directed his steps towards the eastern, and the latter towards the western capital of the world. In Noricum, the valiant Odoacer piously visited the cell of St. Severinus, the lowness of whose humble door could scarcely admit so tall a warrior; and he stooped accordingly. But the saint discerned in his manner and attitude no slight symptoms of future greatness: "Pursue," said the holy hermit, "your design; proceed to Italy, where you will soon cast away this coarse garment of skins, and your wealth will be adequate to the liberality of your mind." The hero accepted the not unwelcome prophecy, and sought such service as would polish his manners, as well as improve his mind; without forgetting that his own good courage must, after all, be the main instrument in carrying out his success. Circumstances educated him for a throne; and though, when elected king of Italy, he declined some of the insignia of royalty, he neglected nothing which might really mould his military exploits into the elements of permanent sovereignty. His troops were worthy of their leader. Terror preceded their march, and cities surrendered on the first summons. Augustulus at once implored his clemency; too happy to exchange a thorny diadem and ridiculous purple for a solid and safe allowance of 6000 pieces of gold annually, and the Castle of Lucullus in Campania for his life. In the 1229th year from the foundation of the city by Romulus, the 515th from the battle of Philippi, when

freedom expired on the death of Brutus, the 476th or 479th from the Incarnation, the Western Empire thus terminated, by the arms of a barbarous horde from Rugen and the shores of the Baltic. Odoacer reigned with ability for fourteen years over desolated provinces; in portions of which, upon the unexceptionable testimonies of Pope Gelasius and his contemporaries, the human species had almost become extinct. Yet, before the close of the century, Theodoric and his Ostrogoths were at hand.

These, since the death of Attila, had gradually re-established their independence, which, during the life of that terrible potentate, was somewhat overshadowed, if not eclipsed. Under their princes of the house of Amalu, they inhabited for a time the country between the Danube and the Save. Connected with Constantinople as receivers rather than payers of tribute, Theodoric, the son of Theodimer through a concubine, was sent thither by his royal father for mental and general improvement. In the flower of manhood, he was elected on the decease of his father to sway the paternal sceptre; and Zeno, then emperor of the East, who had cherished the young barbarian, partly perhaps through apprehension of his future prowess, and partly from genuine admiration of his talents, at length (A.D. 489) suggested to him the rescue of Italy from the Heruli, as an enterprise suitable to the views of many parties. The Byzantine court had exercised no inconsiderable influence over the secular politics of the Roman senate; and Zeno, as one of the successors of Constantine and Theodosius the Great, even nominated, or pretended to do so, Anthemius and Nepos to the imperial seat on the Seven Hills. When appealed to for his sanction to the kingdom of Odoacer, he at first sternly refused, then hesitated, but at last reluctantly acquiesced in what it was no longer possible to avoid. His affections, however, clung to his nominal supremacy as Augustus and autocrat of the East. It was important to set and keep at variance the different tribes assaulting from all quarters the wreck of Roman grandeur; for if they could be brought to destroy each other, it was imagined that every thing would be safe; and therefore, actuated by these ideas, the emperor

formally surrendered Italy to Theodoric by a pragmatic sanction. The latter was now twenty-three years of age, and his people placed implicit confidence in his wisdom and valour. Mounting their wives and children in wagons, and accompanied by innumerable flocks and herds, the entire nation slowly yet perseveringly marched towards the Julian Alps. Encumbered as their columns were with baggage, and beset with dangers, magazines of corn were ground in portable mills by their women as they moved along, whilst the old men milked the kine, or cured provisions, or attended to the other wants of the way. There was no pause but for battle; and, with savages so little civilised, the road of life is but a perpetual path of war. Bulgarians, Gepidi, and Sarmatians, at the solicitations of the Heruli, attempted to check their career; but Theodoric was not to be arrested; he had resolved to succeed or fall. His first grand engagement with Odoacer, 28th August, A.D. 489, ended in a complete victory, and secured him the Venetian territories to the walls of Verona; while a second trial, thirty days afterwards, when his rival fled to Ravenna, proved still more decisive. Milan received the conqueror with acclamations of respect and fidelity; but it still required a third conflict, with a subsequent struggle of three eventful years, to complete the overthrow of Odoacer; for his final surrender, and death in the midst of a solemn banquet, at which he was stabbed to the heart by the Ostrogoths, did not occur before the 5th of March, A.D. 493. Theodoric then openly assumed the Roman purple. To his dominion, from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, the Vandals had added Sicily, a recent and temporary acquisition of their own; and, in fact, not only Africa, but the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Thuringians, respectively sought his alliance. His reign of thirty-three years, A.D. 493-526, will be briefly described in the next chapter, as illustrating the best side of the barbarians, and the curious but instructive manner in which their laws, usages, and national strength, formed the material groundwork of important changes and ameliorations in the social fabric. Yet it will not even now have escaped the notice of intelligent readers, how entirely the

great western empire of the Romans was shaken to pieces; whilst the new spiritual power, as we shall presently see, was developing and gathering its forces, to achieve the triumph of truth, and advance the best interests of mankind.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 493—600.

THEODORIC, THE OSTROGOTH — LAWS AND MANNERS OF THE BARBARIANS—GLANCE AT THE EASTERN EMPIRE—ITS ASPECT UNDER JUSTINIAN — THE CAMPAIGNS OF BELISARIUS AND NARSES — THE LOMBARDS—CLOSE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

THE conqueror of Odoacer expressed his anxiety to govern upon principles of humanity, temperance, righteousness, and prudence. His army, consisting of nearly two hundred thousand hardy warriors, was always ready for maintaining public tranquillity, or undertaking necessary enterprises. The former was his chief object; but he evidently deemed himself the sole judge of what was to be right or wrong, whether at home or abroad. His consort Odefleda was the sister of Clovis; Hunneric, son of Genseric, was his brother-in-law; he had given his niece Amalberga to the King of Thuringia,—whilst Sigismund prince of Burgundy, and the monarch of the Visigoths, had each married one of his daughters. He frequently addressed all these contemporary or younger sovereigns with the authority of a father; and no doubt, for a certain period, the hurricane of barbarian licentiousness presented an appearance of calm. Pavia, his favourite residence, became a magnificent capital, and here he patronised arts and learning; nor is it true, as ordinary writers have asserted, that he was unable to write his name. Early associations with Constantinople had engendered too much taste in his mind for civilisation to render such ignorance at all probable; for although the reproach really attached to Justin the uncle of Justinian (A.D. 518-27), it must be remembered that an elderly

Dacian peasant, even when wearing the Byzantine diadem, was more likely to glory in his early illiteracy, for which he was not to blame, than profess himself ashamed of it. Theodoric had been educated with a view to royalty; and his love of letters made him seek and enjoy the society of scholars like Cassiodorus and Boëthius. He also encouraged mechanical science and the more elegant accomplishments; and sent to Paris, as well as to his son-in-law, a troop of musicians, together with some water-clocks, and other curious specimens of the ingenuity of his subjects. In the partition of the lands of Italy, he assigned a third to his soldiers, as the leader of the Heruli had done before him; the distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged,—whilst in perpetuating a separation between Romans and Goths, he evidently reserved the former for the policy of peace, and the latter for that of war. Industry enjoyed as full protection as the times would admit. In laying aside himself his Gothic costume for a more graceful style of dress, he set an example to his followers; and fashion soon took the hint in a right direction. His object was to moderate violence without enervating valour. The service of the palace and frontiers was performed by choice or rotation, each extraordinary fatigue receiving its full remuneration, either through augmented pay or occasional donations. Benefices in land were held as military stipends; while practice in the use of missile weapons and the exercise of cavalry came into general adoption, and firm and gentle discipline imposed habits of modesty and obedience. The Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the duties of civil society, and to disclaim the barbarous license of judicial combat and private revenge.

In the course of his reign, Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, were added by arms to his dominions; which thus extended not only from the Alps to Sicily, but from Sirmium, or Belgrade, on the Danube, to the Atlantic Ocean. For he acquired also Arles and Marseilles, with a right of protection over Visigothic Spain and Septimania, as guardian of his grandson, the infant child of Alaric II. by his daughter, who survived her deceased husband. He revived

the prætorian prefecture of Italy, nominated one of the consuls, exhibited public games, restored the imperial allowances of bread and meat to the indigent citizens, and illustrated the seventh year of his administration by a visit to Rome. He there admired those prodigies of architecture which Pompey and Titus and Trajan had erected; and which, together with the aqueducts and statues, his own royal edicts preserved. His entire administration, although open to severe criticism, calls for our respect, when we remember what went before, and what followed afterwards. Its worst defects arose from his professing the Arian heresy, which ultimately led him to persecute the Catholics, and sacrifice the best of his subjects. Verona, Spoleto, Naples, and the other Italian cities, more or less, rose from their ruins, so far as new churches, baths, porticoes, market-places, and palaces, could effect this transient prosperity: Ravenna was strongly fortified and highly decorated; and there he is said to have cultivated an orchard with his own hands. Trade and commerce again flourished, and captives were redeemed from slavery through the expansive charity of the Church of God. Population had, no doubt, greatly declined; but peace, such as it was, and so long as it lasted, gave an interval for the increase of births over deaths, and towns and villages teemed anew with growing numbers; for order in Italy, maintained for any term, always developes plenty and opulence. But amidst it all Theodoric had got cruel and unhappy. At last he murdered one of the two lights of literature already mentioned,—Boëthius, with his father-in-law Symmachus; and as the shadows of the grave gathered around himself, remorse rendered the evening of his days miserable. One afternoon, when a large fish was being served at the royal table, he exclaimed with sudden horror that the spectre of his latest victim glared before him, with a mouth full of fearful teeth prepared for their prey. Throughout the agonies of a subsequent fit, he moaned aloud, in broken murmurs, a deep repentance for the past; and on the 20th of August, A.D. 526, he expired, from protracted dysentery, in the palace at Ravenna. His dynasty, as we shall see, was destined but

for a brief duration; whilst any peculiarities his countrymen might possess blended insensibly with those of the other barbarians, coming, like themselves, into contact with a civilisation higher than their own; and which contributed to change the face and character of society in the Roman empire.

That empire had been composed essentially of Pagan elements, which produced their natural results in the feebleness and corruption of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The external framework of religion was to be constituted out of nobler materials. Not that Christianity recognises the slightest difference between one nation and another, when once ready for submission to its sway; but an infusion of the healthier and hardier populations of the North had become necessary. In the beneficial process of melting these down with the remnants of Roman citizens and provincials, as well as with the still more ancient aboriginals of Italy, their heathenism and heresy were cast aside; and from very heterogeneous ingredients massive results ensued. Amidst immense violence and confusion, degeneracy was exchanged for strength; fresh forms of order arose from the rude laws and customs of the Franks, the Ripuarians, the Burgundians, the Goths, the Bavarians, or the Alemanni. Salic and feudal vigour combined insensibly with Roman legislation, and pecuniary fines for homicide slowly gave way to capital punishments. However gradual might be the growth of solid and universal protection for the rights of persons and property, still it was through processes of this kind that progress was made. Even the trial by ordeal, so sneered at by modern philosophy, rendered the doctrines of an overruling Providence and a future judgment familiar to the mediæval mind; while judicial combats, although often savage in their character, together with other practices of compurgation, paved the way for the picturesque justice of chivalry. In our own country, trial by jury must have had a similar origin. Almost every where the alterations were by little and little, as the lapse of time, the force of circumstances, or the assent of powerful classes, sanctioned and sealed the change. Refinement opened her bosom to

barbarism, borrowed its energy and vigour, and repaid her creditors by the subsequent polish and elegance which she afforded in return. All this appears strikingly in the history of language, the various forms and consequences of wealth, the love of liberty and literature, the modes of thought, and even the use of titles. Teutonic and other barbaric denominations softened into Roman ones, so that we soon hear of dukes, counts, prefects, and the like: the germs of future feudalism began to shoot up every where; and society took gigantic shapes, though clothed in iron and steel. Game-laws and personal servitude attended the steps of nearly all the nomadic nations, but yet each tribe had more or less defined ideas, similar to those we read of in Tacitus and Cæsar, when they describe the Gauls, the Germans, or the Britons. There appears at least a sort of family resemblance, with strange comminglings of order and anarchy:—a monarchy, in a certain sense hereditary, though very limited; a council of elders or companions; the requisite consent of a majority as to the free portions of the population; the final approbation of heaven, to which all appeals are made, on deeply religious principles;—all these, or some of them, and in a greater or less degree, will generally be found amongst their outlines of government. In Visigothic Spain are first perceived real legislative councils,—an advantage altogether owing to the influence of the Church, so soon as the country ceased to be Arian. Doctrinal error ultimately found its warmest hotbed in the oriental provinces; over which Theodoric, in the course of his reign, gained some victories; but towards whose emperor he generally professed considerable respect, and even inculcated it, during his last moments, on the Ostrogothic magnates. He recommended to their care Amalasontha his daughter, with her son Athalaric, then ten years old. Constantinople received these tidings, and breathed more freely.

When the Roman empire terminated in the West, Zeno reigned over the East. After the death of Arcadius, and his son, the younger Theodosius, St. Pulcheria, sister to the latter, had nominally married Marcian, and associated him with herself in the government. Leo the Great suc

ceeded A.D. 451; and on his demise, A.D. 474, the husband of his daughter Ariadne usurped the throne, and assumed the name of Zeno. His decease occurring in the spring of A.D. 491, the imperial widow entered a second time into wedlock, and soon transferred her hand, together with the purple, to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace. This fortunate official survived his elevation twenty-seven years, and was followed by Justin I., on the 10th of July, A.D. 518,—a Dacian shepherd, who had fought his way upwards from the very ranks. His nephew, the more celebrated Justinian, may be said to have commenced his administration for some interval before illness and anility had removed his uncle from the world; but, dating it from the 1st April A.D. 527, to its close on the 14th of November A.D. 565, it continued for a period of thirty-eight years seven months and thirteen days. His abilities and infirmities, his orthodoxy and heresy, his opulence and poverty, the campaigns of his generals, his recovery of Africa, Italy, and parts of Spain, his edifices, his detestable empress, the profligacy and misery of his subjects, the inroads of the Persians, the great plague, accompanied with so many earthquakes, besides other preternatural phenomena,—have all contributed to make it memorable. His Code alone would have conferred historic immortality upon any man, not to say any potentate. But he lived altogether for the court, adorned as it was with a kind of dignified exterior which imperfectly concealed its rapid progress towards decay. The boundaries of his dominions seem to have been very much the same with those of the Ottoman Porte at the Congress of Vienna: reaching from the Danube, the Save, and the Adriatic, to Trebizond, the wild mountains of the Tzani, the course of the Nymphæus, the great rivers of Mesopotamia, the Red Sea, and the cataracts of the Nile. Without including their subsequent extension through the overthrow of the Vandalic and Gothic kingdoms—his gorgeous yet exhausted sceptre waved over sixty-four provinces and nine hundred and thirty-five cities. The financial system of his predecessors had grown from a system of whips into one of scorpions; upon the true principles of despotism, which extracts

both from the rich and poor the largest amount of money collected in the worst possible way. Yet not very long before, Anastasius, in a reign much shorter than his own, had saved out of the public revenues the horrible hoard of 13,000,000*l.* sterling. The annual receipts must therefore have been enormous from the corn-laws and customs, the land-tax and infections, venality in the sale of offices, monopolies, depreciation of the coin, what we should term excise and legacy duties, and the plunder of the Jews. Commerce and manufactures, however, throve notwithstanding: lucrative trades were carried on in wools, furs, skins, flax, and cotton; the labours of the pencil or of the needle assisted the loom and distaff. Silkworms found their way into Europe through the imperial patronage of two Persian monks, who brought a quantity of eggs in hollow canes from China. Phœnicia, Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Ægean, continued their various or beautiful commodities in the markets of Sarcens, Tyre, Alexandria, and Constantinople. Sidon still retained in her wealth, as well as Antioch, Aleppo, and Edessa. Domestic animals were infinitely multiplied: plantations, both natural and artificial, from the cedar of Lebanon downwards, together with the most delicious fruits, and harvests producing a hundredfold, had not as yet disappeared. Many ports and harbours swarmed with vessels, constructed on slips and secured in docks, and so furnished with sails and cordage as to betoken no slight naval ingenuity: for, in fact, the mechanical miracles of Archimedes are said to have been rivalled in the sixth century by Proclus, Anthemius, and Isidore. Mirrors of polished brass, with movable polygons, were so arranged as to act in the Bosphorus like burning-glasses, setting ships on fire at the distance of two hundred feet: while preparations of sulphur, and the vapour of boiling water, anticipated about the same time the wonders of at least the Greek fire, which would burn under the waves, and the expansive forces of steam. Imitations of thunder and lightning, produced through collisions of metals, and from the flashes of revolving reflectors, startled and amazed the Byzantines, who attributed these marvels to nothing less than magic

and too often closed their minds against useful or genuine knowledge. Whilst intercourse was not infrequent with India and even the Yellow Sea, it was gravely argued that Carthage was a six months' voyage from the Golden Horn; and that the earth was an oblong surface, "four hundred days' journey in length, and two hundred in breadth, encompassed with the ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament." History was better cultivated than geography, as we perceive from the works of Procopius and Agathias; yet our own island is described by the former as a region of departed spirits, divided by a mysterious wall, forming the boundary of life and death; and the ground is covered with serpents, to which the ghostly inhabitants are transported at midnight by Frankish fishermen! Such cloudiness of conception and information will convey the best idea as to how far, and in what way, intellectual pursuits must then have been cultivated. Metaphysics, civil jurisprudence, and architecture, absorbed the greatest share of attention, next to the factions of the circus. One of these, known in antiquity under the name of the Nika, had threatened the throne, and destroyed the cathedral of St. Sophia; when within forty days Justinian cleared the ruins, and commenced that noble pile which cost a million sterling, and which remains in nearly its pristine splendour, as the glory of Islam and the reproach of Christendom. His edifices throughout the empire strike our imagination as truly imperial. He built and dedicated twenty-five large churches at Constantinople alone, in honour of our Saviour, his Blessed Mother, and the Saints: Syria, and particularly the Holy Land, Mesopotamia, Armenia, the Euxine, Europe, and Asia Minor, witnessed similar erections. Many cities, after being destroyed by earthquakes, were rebuilt, or liberally assisted from the general treasury; bridges, hospitals, and aqueducts adorned every provincial capital; and his fortifications on the frontiers as well as inland astonished the barbarians, and betrayed the weakness of the empire. There were no less than eighty of these on the Danube alone; six hundred castles spotted the mountainous districts of Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace; while from the Crimea,

round by the Phasis, and above Trebizond, to Circesium on the Chebar, all along the Euphrates, his engineers exerted their utmost skill in forming ramparts, constructing mines, and accumulating military ammunition and engines. The double walls of Dara were from thirty to sixty feet in height, with spaces between them for cattle to feed upon no less than fifty paces wide, besides numerous towers, ascending to an altitude of one hundred feet. The celebrated Iberian gates of Derband protected both the empire and Persia from the inroads of the Scythians,—an expense, therefore, borne mutually between the two governments. Yet what were stone barriers, without warriors to guard them? Not more than about one hundred and fifty thousand regular legionaries marched under the banners of Justinian.

Nevertheless, with such imperfect means, Belisarius, his extraordinary general, obtained many victories. Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes, had succeeded to the dominions of Genseric after the inglorious reigns of Hunneric, Gundamund, and Thrasimund, during the period of forty-six years, which elapsed from the death of their great ancestor, A.D. 477-523. Although the son of an Arian, he tolerated the Catholics, which led to the usurpation of the kingdom by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous heretic, A.D. 530. Such circumstances excited sympathy at Constantinople, and produced the African war, for which thirty-five thousand soldiers and sailors, five thousand horses, with twenty-two leaders, under Belisarius, embarked in five hundred transports, besides ninety-two light brigantines, in June, A.D. 533. Through the Propontis, the Hellespont, the Egean, and along the islands of Zacynthus, Sicily, and Malta, a protracted navigation, as it then appeared, brought the invaders to a promontory but five days' journey to the south of Carthage, in the month of September. Received, rather than repulsed, by the inhabitants and orthodox clergy, Belisarius rapidly overran the country; and Gelimer, who after his first defeat, had the innocent Hilderic executed, fled towards the deserts of Numidia. Catholicity reascended the episcopal throne of St. Cyprian; a second battle extinguished the Vandalic

monarchy, and by the spring of A.D. 534 the usurper was captured, the entire region from Tripoli to Ceuta subdued, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles were restored to Roman allegiance; and Belisarius enjoyed a public triumph, as the Africanus of Constantinople, in the ensuing autumn. His lieutenants, meanwhile, struggled with and finally vanquished the Moors, who had leagued together for avenging the Vandals; and several cities on the sea-coast of Spain were also acquired from the Visigoths in subsequent years. But the recovery of Italy had appealed still more strongly to the pride and vanity of the conquerors. Amalasontha, daughter to the late Theodoric, reigned there as regent and guardian for her son Athalaric. After his premature death through intemperance, and some disorders involving or arising out of negotiations with Justinian, she had married a second time, selecting her cousin Theodatus for a husband; but this weak and wicked prince had her privately strangled in a bath, 30th April A.D. 535, in a little island on the lake of Bolsena. Belisarius was not slow to seize every favourable opportunity. On various pretences Sicily was demanded and reduced into subjection, whilst the Byzantine ambassadors amused or deceived the Ostrogoths. Their wretched sovereign soon agreed even to resign Italy for a pension; and although afterwards recoiling from so pusillanimous an abdication, the imperial legions were at hand. They crossed from Messina to Rhegium, A.D. 537, and advanced three hundred miles along the sea-shore to Naples. Its siege terminated favourably for its assailants, but cruelly for the inhabitants. An access was discovered by a dry aqueduct, and a rope fastened to an olive-tree became a ladder, up which four hundred troopers clambered, and surprised the sentinels. Belisarius perhaps did his best to arrest the subsequent massacre; yet, as this did not then seem clear, the voice of Pope Sylverius was raised in remonstrance,—showing with what universal assent all minds were ready to support the Church as an oracle of mercy. In fact, throughout these and successive ages of violence it was always such, nor could society have held together without it. Vengeance meanwhile overtook Theodatus; before whose assassination by one of his own people,

Vitiges was already elevated into his royal seat upon the bucklers of the inconstant barbarians. Belisarius paid slight regard to the revolution; he pressed forward without resistance, and entered Rome through the Asinarian gate on the 10th of December, A.D. 536, amidst the murmurs of the Arians and congratulations of the Catholics. Small detachments rapidly re-established imperial authority as far as Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia; but no sooner was winter at an end, than the enemy returned, and invested the Seven Hills. Belisarius, however, had foreseen the emergency. After incurring imminent personal danger, he gathered his forces within the antiquated ramparts of Aurelian; and drawing a bow with his own hands, shot the first arrow of defiance. The Ostrogoths exhibited their natural courage, the beleaguered hero his wonderful genius, while carnage, famine, and pestilence, raged for twelve months and nine days within and without the city. Reinforcements at length reached the Tiber from Constantinople. Vitiges found his forces melting away through the sword, diseases, or discouragement, and the siege of Rome was raised in March, A.D. 538, after a final display of useless valour. Rimini, Ravenna, Urbino, Orvieto, and Auximum, adorned the laurels or the policy of Belisarius, and that, too, amidst the treachery of his own officers, followed by the appearance of Narses, as a rival rather than an auxiliary, on the Adriatic shores, sent thither for the very purpose, through the base jealousy of Justinian. His difficulties, moreover, were aggravated by an irruption of the Franks across the Alps to support the falling Ostrogoths A.D. 538-9; which involved the complete destruction for the time of Milan, Genoa, with numerous other places, besides the slaughter of 300,000 individuals of both sexes. Yet before the close of the year A.D. 539, Vitiges was a dethroned prisoner; half the provinces of the Western Empire were recovered; the Franks had retreated; and the victor was once more on his homeward voyage to a court too proud to acknowledge, as well as far too profligate to reward, such inestimable services.

His antagonists on the field of battle knew better how to appreciate them; for with the absence of Belisarius from

Italy their resolution revived. Totila, of the Amalu family, after witnessing the transit over the stage of two shadows of Ostrogothic royalty, Hildibald his uncle, and Euthar, found the mantle of the great Theodoric falling upon his own shoulders. The national squadrons had dwindled to five thousand men; yet these proved themselves as worthy of their chieftain as he was of them. Eleven imperial generals had remained in Italy; Totila defeated and baffled them all. Even the Catholics were no longer loyal; for Justinian, upon most unrighteous suspicions, had banished good Pope Sylverius, and ultimately starved him to death in exile. Revolt from the yoke of such an emperor seemed universal throughout the peninsula. Belisarius was warring against the Persians, on the banks of the Euphrates, when his ungrateful sovereign summoned him back with reluctance to the scenes of his former glory, A.D. 544-8. The Eternal City again submitted to a barbarian invader, 17th December A.D. 546; and was sentenced, after the horrors of pillage, to become a pasture for cattle. In vain had the representative of the Byzantine despot exerted every effort of strategetical science to save the metropolis of the world: but he now reminded his competitor, of the certain infamy which would attend any unnecessary demolition of its time-honoured monuments. Totila listened and retired, carrying off with him to the summit of Mount Garganus the entire senate, with nearly all their fellow-citizens. It is said, that for forty days Rome remained "a marble wilderness," utterly abandoned to dreariness and desolation. Belisarius, with the eye of an eagle, saw the empty eyrie, and once more seized it; his standard was unfurled upon the Capitol; it was admitted, that whoever could maintain his position there had the citadel of power, and twenty-five days elapsed before the Ostrogoth rushed back in fury to retrieve such unexpected disgrace. Thrice an assault was attempted, and as often repulsed. But a good soldier fought for a bad master. Orders arrived from Constantinople, just when Totila had failed, that Belisarius should leave a garrison at Rome, and transport his main army into Lucania, to play a secondary part against the Arians of that pro-

vince. His best-laid plans were thus perpetually thwarted or betrayed by jealousy or treason. His final recal from Italy occurred in September A.D. 548. The enemy regained his prize for a brief interval, and restored the kingdom of Theodoric. All was lost to the empire, from Marseilles to Epirus, including the islands both of the Tyrrhene and Ionian seas, when Pope Vigilius appealed to the conscience of Justinian, by adjuring him to retrace his steps. Then ensued the campaigns of Germanus and Narses, A.D. 551-552; the former of whom died of sickness, arrested in a promising career; the latter being that celebrated eunuch, whose name and achievements rank among the foremost upon the roll of history.

The character of Narses appears to have been pious; and few amongst the public men of his age exceeded him in devotion to the Blessed Virgin, who is even said to have revealed to him several circumstances of the battle in which he finally crushed his adversary. Accustomed in youth to be much with women, he imbibed their tact and gentleness of manner, without falling into the corruptions then rife at Constantinople. On the contrary, whilst engaged in household affairs, he nurtured a soul of heroism, and cherished the cultivation of knowledge; for military and political affairs suited well the subtlety of an intellect quick to discern the thoughts and intentions of others, amidst the perfect concealment of his own. He had already led an army into Italy; and no longer shrunk, when called upon, from following on in the career of Belisarius. With forces made up of various materials, yet all united in the love of their leader, Narses, after coasting the head of the Adriatic, and crossing on boats the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, besides chastising Rimini, came face to face with Totila at Tagina, near the Flaminian Way. It was on one of the long days in July, A.D. 552, as the Romans awaited the charge, without unloosing their cuirasses, or unbridling their horses, whilst the brief mid-day meal was being taken, that the vain Ostrogoth displayed his personal agility and splendid equipage between the two armies. His last succours had not yet arrived: so, to wear away the moments of dreadful suspense, we

are told that, enchased in golden armour, with a purple banner floating before him, he cast his lance into the air, caught it with his right hand, shifted it to the left, threw himself backward, recovered his seat, and managed a fiery steed in all the evolutions of the equestrian school. These pranks, half-childish, half-savage, soon gave way to more serious events, and before the onset, Totila had changed his plumage for the dress of a private soldier. His cavalry rushed forward too far in front of his infantry, both marching to destruction; for Narses, by the judicious retreat of his centre, allured them within the horns of a crescent. The Roman wings presented thousands of archers, whose arrows transpierced the flanks of their foes. Thrown at once into confusion, these fell back upon their own infantry; horses and men got entangled together, trampling down, and wounding each other; no space remained for the use of lance or spear; and once more the imperial eagles soared triumphantly over the slaughter of the barbarians. Totila fell, and Rome was retaken, having changed masters five times in the reign of Justinian. Teja was the last who wore the Ostrogothic crown.

The Franks and Alemanni had to be again encountered, A.D. 553-4; but victory every where attended the watchful and gifted eunuch. Winter and summer found him alike prepared either for peace or warfare. He taught his legions, both by precept and example, the lessons of valour and mercy. Chanting his praises, with garlands in their hands, they reduced the whole of Italy, which he governed for fifteen years, as the first Exarch of Ravenna. His administration, indeed, was exercised over desolated cities and depopulated provinces. No less than twenty years of conflict had scourged the Western Empire since the expedition against Gelimer. During this period a full share of calamity fell upon Africa, where Arianism renounced none of its bitterness even in its dying agonies; and rebellions of the Moors, A.D. 543-558, mingled incredible bloodshed with the convulsions of unsuccessful heresy. As a nation, the Vandals absolutely disappeared from the face of the land. Procopius affirms that five millions of provincials or invaders perished, and he sets down fifteen or sixteen

more as the number of victims, by the sword, or famine, or pestilence, in Sicily, and the fair regions from Calabria to Liguria and the Alps. In fact, all these barren conquests impaired rather than strengthened the basis of Roman power. The northern barriers had to be deprived of their best safeguards, while fresh swarms of assailants descended upon the weakened or forsaken provinces. The Bulgarians threatened Constantinople itself, A.D. 559; when Belisarius, in gaining a victory over them, won his last honours, and but just saved the metropolis. Within three summers afterwards the emperor was considered at the point of death; this false alarm, as it proved, excited the seeds of conspiracy; and plots, accusations, and court-intrigues, gradually involved the fair fame of senator after senator, and patrician after patrician. The immorality and cruelty of the Empress Theodora, so long as she lived, found an unhappy counterpart in Antonina, the consort of Belisarius. Both these wicked women had rescued their respective partners from destruction in moments of imminent danger; both had persecuted the Church of God, and revelled in infamy; both, of course, sullied the atmosphere of all around them; and the more so, from their extraordinary energy and talents. The air and breath of scenes in which such Jezebels had reigned could not be expected to spare the conqueror of the West, the deliverer of the capital. Belisarius was impeached on the 5th of December, A.D. 563, and acknowledged innocent on the 18th of July, A.D. 564; after which, he died on the 13th of March in the following year. His treasures being confiscated helped out the splendid indigence of an exhausted exchequer; and his wretched wife devoted the poor remnant of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent.

It may justly be asserted, that the glories of Justinian were, like the apples of Sodom, attractive in external appearance, but in reality worse than worthless. Before his footstool some obsequious official presented the keys of Carthage, Ravenna, and Rome; tidings at the same time perhaps arrived, that the Persians were ravaging the oriental frontiers, or even marching upon the shores of the Mediterranean. The reign of Nushirvan or Chosroes

lasted for nearly eight-and-forty years, A.D. 531-579, the most prosperous period of the house of Sapor. He invaded Syria A.D. 540, partly through the instigation of an Ostrogothic embassy. Antioch fell a prey to massacre and conflagration. The Colchian or Lazic war, in those regions now called Mingrelia, A.D. 549-556, drew large annual subsidies from the empire—barely sufficient to satiate his pride or avarice, and induce the successor of Cyrus to abandon the banks of the Phasis. His realms, indeed, extended from the Indus to the Euphrates; and at Ctesiphon the Byzantine ambassadors submitted to insult in silence. They were informed, that Chosroes "assumed the majesty of the eastern sun, and graciously permitted his younger brother Justinian to preside over the west, with the pale and reflected splendour of the moon!" It is remarkable, that some of these magniloquent pretensions had sober facts to rest upon; for the Persian monarch occasionally interfered in the domestic arrangements and policy of the empire. Thus, when an edict had suppressed the schools of Athens, he exacted by treaty that seven Athenian philosophers, who had emigrated into his neighbourhood, although still Roman subjects, should be exempted from the penal laws against paganism. Amidst these and similar mortifications at home and abroad, the ancient and venerable rank of Consul was formally extinguished A.D. 541; although the adoption of the Incarnation, as the commencement of modern chronology, by Dionysius Exiguus, is of later date in practice; nor did it become universal until the age of Charlemagne. Meanwhile disasters thickened. The earthquakes of May A.D. 526, and July A.D. 551, with numerous other annual vibrations, from the Bosphorus to the Dead Sea, almost desolated entire countries. Constantinople was more or less shaken during as many hours in various seasons as amounted altogether to forty days. A mountain was torn from Libanus, and precipitated into the waves; the ocean advanced, or retreated, as the case might be, far beyond its ordinary bounds; enormous chasms opened in unexpected places; and amidst the sudden ruin Antioch and Berytus myriads were swallowed up, or

crushed to death. Celestial phenomena accompanied or preceded these terrestrial perturbations, such as stupendous comets and blazing meteors in the sky; besides which, from the year A.D. 542, Plague on its Pale Horse may literally be said, for more than half a century, to have stalked from province to province, from city to city. When at its height, 10,000 persons a-day are declared to have died in the metropolis; in Italy harvests withered on the ground,—whilst, for some awful intervals, the sun at midday seemed shorn of his beams. Justinian expired on the 14th of November A.D. 565, in his eighty-fourth year, having long survived the affections of his family and the respect of his people. In person he is represented to have been handsome, and in manners pleasing. Master of his passions, chaste, temperate—not to say frugal—in his habits, there was a kind of selfish dignity about his whole character. He had stupendous abilities in the way of continuous application to business, and could live with the smallest allowance of sleep almost ever known. His equestrian statue was melted into cannon by the Turks; but the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes, will never cease to command the admiration of posterity or the obedience of independent communities.

Out of his seven nephews Justin II. succeeded, and administered public affairs for nine years, assisted by his consort Sophia. Report assigns her the discredit of having needlessly insulted Narses, and of thus proving, through his consequent disaffection, the indirect cause of bringing in the Lombards upon Italy. Whether the vast wealth of the powerful exarch had been justly gathered or otherwise, or whether unfairness has been manifested towards his memory, cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained; but at all events, his decease was an irreparable misfortune. From the Julian Alps, A.D. 568, an avalanche of savages descended upon the Po, such as its rich plains, in the variety of their previous invasions, had scarcely yet known. It was on a beautiful morning in the spring, when Alboin pointed out to his numerous array a prospect of that country upon which his people would impose their name. Many of their fathers had served in the imperial

ranks, and must have frequently described the fertility and attractiveness of the pleasant land. When the Gepidæ had seized upon Pannonia and Noricum, these Lombards had checked their aspiring barbarism. Fierce beyond the example of the Sclavonians, the Avars, the Germans, or other wild warriors of the North, they delighted to propagate the tremendous belief that their heads were canine in appearance, and that they drank the blood of their enemies whom they conquered in battle. Twenty thousand Saxons accompanied them from Upper and Lower Hungary, besides a mixed multitude of marauders, who could climb rocks, swim rivers, remain in ambuscade under water, drawing their breath through reeds, and imitate the habits of the bear or the beaver. Within a brief period the vast acquisitions of Belisarius and Narses were again torn away from the empire, with the exception of certain narrow limits assigned to the Exarchate of Ravenna, the cities of Rome and Pentapolis, and some other towns on the Adriatic. Beholding the inevitable dismemberment of their dominions, and having no male heir, Justin and Sophia adopted Tiberius, a faithful captain of the guards, as their son and associate in the throne, December A.D. 574. After four years, Justin departed. His chosen colleague, whose reign shines out as a sunbeam in Byzantine annals, having suitably interred his benefactor, September A.D. 578, reformed the court, redeemed captives, baffled the restless designs of the imperial widow, anxious to marry him; lowered the pressure of taxation, dispensed impartial justice to all classes, and transmitted the diadem to Maurice, the husband of his daughter, in August A.D. 582. Tiberius expired amidst the tears of nations. His successor governed for full twenty summers, with various fortunes and clouded reputation. In Italy matters descended from bad to worse almost every day. Alboin was murdered by his queen Rosamond; to whom, in an insane fit of drunkenness, he had dared to send a draught of wine in the skull of her father. All Lombardy was included at this time under the name of Liguria, separated from the territories of the Alemanni by both Rhætias. The fierce invaders had got rid of their

Saxon allies, but they still wore their hideous long beards; and though Pavia promised to spring up from her ashes, as the phœnix of cities, she sat surrounded for many a season with blighted enclosures and the remnants of flaming villages. It required a generation, and more, to transmute this barbarism into any permanent forms of civilisation, such as in the lapse of years exhibited themselves, when the duchy of Rome included Tuscany; and Piacenza, Parma, Imola, and Bologna, adorned the Emilian province. Spoleto, Naples, Salerno, Capua, and Beneventum gradually owed their restoration to Lombard dukes, whilst Venice was overshadowing Aquileia. These social changes, however, were passing through their primary stages of misery and wretchedness at the close of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh centuries. St. Gregory the Great, the first of that name, then filled the Chair of St. Peter, and he warmly and naturally appealed to Maurice for the protection to which he was entitled. The emperor, though in some respects an able man, turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances; the more guilty in doing so, since he had once enjoyed the Pope's personal friendship, and must have known his perfect disinterestedness. Unhappily avarice and worldliness enslaved his soul, and his prudence wrecked itself on principles of supposed expediency, through sympathy with schism and heresy. He prohibited military men from entering into monasteries, until disabled from being soldiers; he sided with the Exarch of Ravenna against the Head of the Church, whom he presumed to charge with folly, whilst he contumaciously robbed him of his rights; and he sanctioned the Patriarch of Constantinople in assuming the title of Œcumenical or Universal Bishop. The holy pontiff instructed a sneering world, that he could suffer with patience and rebuke with dignity. The shepherd prayed, wept, and exhorted, while his flock lay prostrate and bleeding in every quarter. The imperial politician pursued his course, well satisfied that hierarchies were mere engines of state, and the priesthood a useful tool. He prospered against the proud Persian, in a fresh war after the death of Nushirvan; whose grandson he restored to his throne, besides carry

ing the Roman frontiers to the margin of the Araxes and the Caspian. He also subdued the Chagan of the Avars, who dwelt in the rustic palace of Attila, reaching with a sanguinary sceptre over the utmost limits of Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the Danube to the Oder, A.D. 595-602. His general, Priscus, indeed, fought all the battles, illustrating the practice, whilst his sovereign composed twelve books upon the theory of war. Such transient and illusive triumphs only inflamed the corruption of the legions. Maurice refused to advance six thousand pieces of gold, which would have purchased twice that number of lives, among the prisoners still under the power of the Chagan. That monster massacred them to a man. In a moment the metropolis revolted. The emperor fled with his wife and children, as Phocas, a centurion, was proclaimed in his stead, the 23d of November, A.D. 602; and four days afterwards, near Chalcedoni, his enemies and executioners overtook him. In the agonies of chronic sciatica, and probably also amidst the pangs of genuine repentance, he had besought Almighty God that his punishment might be in this life rather than in the next. The ministers of rebellion slaughtered five of his sons successively before the eyes of their father. At each sad stroke he mournfully exclaimed, "Thou art just, O Lord! and Thy judgments are righteous!" and even revealed to the assassins a generous attempt on the part of a nurse to substitute one of her own children in the room of a royal infant. His own murder then closed the tragedy; and the heads of the victims were cut off and exposed to the rude gaze of multitudes, until either their putrefaction or the pity of Phocas at last procured for them the melancholy honours of sepulture.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 600—1100.

SURVEY OF THE CHURCH, WITH A SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HERESY, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON SECULAR AFFAIRS—MAHOMET AND ISLAMISM.

THE present will be a good opportunity for dwelling some moments upon that divine institution for which all others were created. We have already seen the Church of God striking root in society. Whilst its soul could know no change, there must be external developments, adapting themselves to the varying wants of mankind. It was and is to be the great Mother of all the faithful; a spiritual kingdom destined to fill the whole earth; a system to absorb, or at least control, every other; and to become at last a reflection of the Heavenly Jerusalem, not merely, as now, shining from St. Peter's Chair over various nations and into many countries, but ultimately blending the intellects, the minds, and the hearts of an entire world into one chorus of unity and love, through the energetic operations of one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. Its principles of vitality were such as could alone bear the wear and tear of a dissolving empire; presenting the same aspect of solemn immortality and invincibility, amidst the shock of violence, the chaos of confusion, or the silent canker of decay. The Popedom is the oldest of all existing dynasties; the solitary one, as to which we may feel certain that it will hear the last trumpet, and witness in triumph the awful conflagration of the globe.

From the age of Constantine to that of St. Gregory, the great saint alluded to in the last chapter, Estates and Patrimonies, as they were termed, of vast extent, had enriched the Holy See. It could claim proprietorship over considerable districts in Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, Sardinia, Corsica, Gaul, Egypt, and Africa. Not only did these include mere rent-rolls, but in some cases the actual rights of sovereignty throughout cities, and even provinces.

noa, and the Riviera of the sea-coast, are instances of this; besides others in the cantons of the Abruzzi, Lucania, Tuscany, Sabinia, or Calabria, where the annual revenues, with those of certain territories in Sicily, amounted to three talents and a half of gold, or about 16,000*l.* sterling. In the metropolis and the Campagna were numerous houses, villas, and tracts of fertile land attached to the Lateran Palace. Imperial or private munificence had been the sole sources of such opulence, as cannot be too often repeated; the same voluntaryism of which we hear in the Acts of the Apostles. While such streams of wealth thus flowed willingly to the feet of the Supreme Pontiffs, their liberality, on the other hand, dispersed it abroad in every conceivable direction; so that in becoming universal almoners to the faithful, their official influence grew with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the Church. Their spiritual power had an origin which was directly divine, the authority conferred by our Blessed Saviour on St. Peter and his successors. Recognised, as this could not fail to be, by all classes of true Christians, from the highest to the lowest, there sprang up with it indirectly a temporal power, which it was impossible to separate from the other, any more than we can divide the colours of the rainbow, declaring where one commences and another ends; nor has any code that has ever been published endeavoured with any success to do so. In the times of the Apostles there is the highest sanction afforded for the arbitration of the hierarchy in secular affairs; and matters naturally went on upon similar principles. The arrangement ordained by heaven for saving souls, being also proved capable of conferring so many advantages with regard to earthly concerns, daily received more abundant homage and regard. Immunities of various kinds came to be attached to the clergy, the prelates, the ecclesiastical courts, the churches, and, above all, to the Roman See. The rights of jurisdiction over civil causes insensibly extended, partly through the cheerful submission of appellants, partly through imperial laws and rescripts, partly from the inherent soundness and reasonableness of the authority itself, and, above all, from the manifest direction and providence

lmighty God. The seat of empire, transferred into the
by Constantine, left the West a prey to the tender
ies of barbarians; and the Papal throne, founded upon
Seven Hills, rose amidst the clouds and darkness of the
and mediæval centuries, an asylum for the elements
der, as well as the sanctuary for all that is holy. An
ding scale of appeals, from inferior to higher pre-
s, here terminated. A voice from the old mistress
e world, uttered in the language of love and per-
ion instead of warlike menace as formerly, defined
rines and settled controversies to the utmost limits
vilisation, and often beyond them. Who could criti-
resolve into their original proportions and relations
spiritual and temporal powers thus united into a
erious entirety, operating upon society at large, and
gising in every realm of Christendom, just as the soul
ates the body? There was a mighty work to be per-
ed upon the face of a fallen world, and the Church
the divinely-constituted missionary for that purpose.
otentates, however, were ever more really modest than
Popes, in putting forth their prerogatives. Gelasius
Symmachus, in addressing the Emperor Anastasius,
lown very clear lines of distinction, quite sufficient for
ral objects in honest and humble minds, between pon-
l and imperial authority.* Human and divine things
rtheless so play into and cross each other in this sub-
y scene, that from a single source, such as sacramental
ession, for example, with all that may rise out of it,
ss complications might ensue between the two powers.
easily would absolutions and dispensations clash, upon
worldly notions, with the obligations of oaths, and
iance, and alliance, under certain circumstances. Upon
olic principles, which are alone true, the Church can

Their words to the emperor are striking: "Omnis potestas a
st, magis ergo quæ rebus est præstituta divinis. Defer Deo
bis, et nos deferemus Deo in te. Cæterum si tu Deo non
s, non potes ejus uti privilegio, cujus jura contemnis." "All
r is from God; the greater power, therefore, is that which is
ied with divine things. Do thou obey God in us, and we
obey God in thee. But if thou dost not obey God, thou
not use His privilege, whose laws thou dost contemn."

be the only ultimate judge in cases of conscience: nor was it by chance that for many ages the clergy claimed perfect exemption from all civil judicature whatsoever.

Affairs thus went forward until the first Gregory, so justly canonised, was placed in the position of a temporal, as well as a spiritual sovereign. Between the feebleness and falsehood of the Byzantine Court on the one side, and the desolations of Italy on the other, he would have compromised his duty before God and man had he refused to be the prince of his people. To all intents and purposes, against his own will his crozier became a sceptre, and the tiara something greater than a diadem. He had to defend cities, preside over the policy of peace or war, nominate the commanders of armies, or even direct the operations of troops; the finances, the fountains of law and equity, municipal and national government, were guided by his genius; whilst they augmented to an almost intolerable degree the pressure of his ecclesiastical administration upon his own health. It is true that previous popes had paved the way for all or much of this,—for it was their glorious office and vocation; the great St. Leo had braved the wrath of Attila and Genseric, and twice saved Rome, and his predecessors and successors, through a period of several hundred years, were frequently heroic pontiffs of the same class. Amidst persecution and trial, they believed, they reigned, they suffered, and they loved. When emperors ventured to interfere in episcopal elections, what a combination of wisdom and firmness had to be manifested; since it was always the weak contending against the strong. What the Goths and Justinian had been to Sylverius, the Lombards and Maurice were to Gregory. At length the sovereignty of the exarchate itself came to be merged in the Patrimony of St. Peter. No arm of flesh was found strong enough to arrest the natural culmination of the Papacy: as a mighty historical fact, its spiritual domination gradually gathered around it stupendous temporal authority. The intrusiveness of Constantinople vanished from before it; barbarism changed into civilisation through its influence; heresy sometimes shook, but always finally consolidated the sacerdotal throne. Its

occupant, for seven centuries and a half, from the iconoclastic struggle to the so-called Reformation, crowned emperors, deposed wicked rulers, laid whole countries under interdict, launched the thunders of the Church against guilt and oppression, and acted out that character with which the consent of all Europe had invested him,—the supreme President of Christendom. With respect to this extraordinary authority, styled, as it was, universal, different theories have been entertained. Bellarmine, Roncaglia, Bianchi, and others, attribute to it an origin of divine right, identical with that which sanctions all revelation. According to them, *the direct* and immediate object of ecclesiastical power is to govern the faithful, with reference to their spiritual necessities; whilst at the same time *indirectly*, and, as a necessary consequence, there is and must be also an authority in the Church paramount with regard to temporal matters, to be exercised, of course, for the greater good of religion. Some theologians, however, of great fame, oppose this system; such as the celebrated Bossuet, who maintains that the spiritual and temporal powers are equally sovereign in their several and respective departments. He even asserts their mutual and perfect independence each of the other; admitting, nevertheless, that through the superior excellence of the former it has a right of direction over the latter, so far as counsel and persuasion can operate,—but not so as to pronounce authoritative orders or decrees. This doctrine has generally found itself environed with difficulties, and must make many wry faces in getting out of them. The amiable Fenelon adopted a theory which of late has attracted much attention. He conceives that the Pope has in truth no direct authority over the temporal affairs of sovereigns, but only an indirect one, in a sense already glanced at, connected with the guidance of consciences; yet that, in the middle ages, through certain maxims of state policy generally admitted, the Church acquired, with the consent of Catholic Christendom, the power, in particular cases, of appointing or of deposing princes. So long, therefore, as the necessity for such an arrangement continued, this *extraordinary* Papal jurisdic-

tion lasted, and no longer. It rested, in fact, upon foundations analogous to those which some modern philosophers have laid down as the great basis of the social contract. De Maistre modifies, whilst he admits the views of the Archbishop of Cambray, by endeavouring to comprehend within them the origin of divine right in a direct, as well as in an indirect sense. The Church, having defined nothing on the subject, leaves her children at liberty to form their own conclusions. The territorial dominion of the Pontiffs over the central provinces of Italy will fall under our notice more conveniently in a later chapter; just now we may look for an instant at the results of what has sometimes been termed the policy of St. Gregory, but which was in truth the appointment of Divine Providence, more especially since his history and actions possess a peculiar interest for Englishmen.

Thereby was the Church rendered a talisman to the world, on which its happiness and prosperity depended. To the corruption of the emperors had succeeded, as we have seen, the violence of the barbarians. But however necessary this wholesome infusion of vigour might be, it would scarcely have done for the iron age to have endured longer than it did. The saintly Pontiff drew a picture of Italian devastation and misery which might then have found its parallel in nearly all the provinces of the west: "Every thing," he assures the imperturbable Maurice, "is given over to the mercy of savages; the cities are destroyed, the fortresses dismantled; the open country, stript of its inhabitants, is become a wilderness for want of cultivation; and the servants of Christ are the daily victims, immolated by the sanguinary superstition of these idolators." The Lombards spared nothing: and but for the Catholic religion, all would have been lost. This was alone preserved through the instrumentality of the Popedom, and the historian of infidelity might well declare that, like Thebes, Babylon, or Nineveh, the name of Rome would have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by an undying principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion. Society still smouldered, in its best elements, under the ashes of its conflagration: from these the watch-

ful shepherd relit ten thousand flames, not only on the altars of the sanctuary, but upon the hearths and amidst the homes of millions. Nor were such noble efforts in vain. Right faith, even under the most disastrous circumstances, soon reproduced its ordinary consequences: calamity itself was made a means of revival; for preachers appealed to the consciences of their hearers with greater effect than ever, through the seriousness and alarm produced by the public misfortunes. The genuine essence of civilisation was proved to be identical with Christianity. It has been said, that St. Gregory manifested some hostility against literature; yet it was only against the abuse of it, in making, as he conceived, heathen authors the chief instructors of youth, to the apparent peril of their religion and morals. On the other hand, he zealously patronised convents and monasteries with schools attached to them, where alone, in subsequent ages, letters and the sciences found safe asylums. His regard for the interests of mankind led him to lay down the most salutary maxims of general government, as well as civil and ecclesiastical economy; all tending to maintain the preservation of order, the integrity of weights and measures, the promotion of trade and agriculture, the obligation of family duties and domestic purity, the rights of the Church, and, above all, the fulfilment of her holy functions as the grand instructress of the world. His merciful missions amongst our Saxon forefathers, specimens as they were of similar labours for the welfare of pagans or heretics, wherever they were to be met with and fairly influenced, are sufficient by themselves to illustrate the breadth and grandeur of his paternally apostolic character. His correspondence with the nations, potentates, and prelates of his time, in the way of letters, embassies, and presents of books, appears scarcely credible; especially when his perpetual ill-health is borne in mind, and that he was little more than elderly at his demise. It has been truly said, that the destinies of Europe were never so completely risked upon the conduct and abilities of a single individual as in his instance. Under heaven, it was due to him that the last gleam of civilisation in the West was not extinguished for ever. Even the Lombards at last changed their swords

into ploughshares, beneath a series of beneficent efforts for their conversion commenced by his pastorals to their queen Theodolinda: her consort and son, with numbers among their followers, bowed their ferocious necks to the yoke of the gospel, while the Goths of Spain and the Saxons of Britain added their spiritual trophies; so that, for his successors in the Chair of St. Peter, there was bequeathed an impregnable preponderance in the temporal as well as in the ecclesiastical affairs of Christendom.

Under such circumstances, however anxious the Prince of Darkness might be for carrying on his warfare in the world against the kingdom of Almighty God, he could no longer depend upon paganism for that purpose within the limits of the Roman empire. He therefore resorted to heresy and schisms as his next best policy. To restore mankind from the effects of the fall the Catholic Church had received her divine mission, and was executing it irresistibly; her faith, unity, and universality, together with her Apostolical origin, were destined to overthrow every obstacle: but to impugn or attack these, or any one of them, was to aim at the apple of her eye. Hence it became an object with error to exalt reason into the place of revelation. The private judgment of each individual was to have the effect of an infallible authority, than which few things could be more seductive to the human mind. It constituted every one his own pope; and struck at the basis of the Church, under pretence of independent inquiry. If examined closely, this temptation will appear as only another edition of the diabolical artifice which ejected the first Adam from paradise. It is simply pride pitted against humility; an opposition on the part of man to implicit obedience, such as an Infinite Creator has a right to require from His creature. Brief was the interval suffered to elapse before the mischief began; nor had the inspired founders of religion withdrawn from the earth, when the first attacks were made upon the dogmas of a resurrection and the deity of the Son of God. An immense list of heretics might be given, even prior to the appearance of Arius, whose opinions for a season overran the surface of the world. Apostatising emperors and schismatical prelates,

seemed to fancy that the Church herself might be deposed from her position; for beneath the shadow of the Holy See unadulterated Truth had to fly for protection, like a persecuted dove from its pursuers; and it was forgotten that the foundations of Rome were laid upon the Rock of Ages. Human intellect and secular selfishness were far more desirous of exploring with irreverent curiosity the nature of Christianity, than of receiving its doctrines or practising its precepts. The second and third Persons of the glorious Trinity had been impugned, as to their divine characters and operations, by Paul of Samosata, the celebrated Presbyter of Alexandria, Macedonius, and a host of other innovators, when the Councils of Nice and Constantinople in some measure allayed the storm. To the disputes upon the Trinity succeeded those upon the Incarnation: while both had their more remote origin in the Gnosticism or Manichæism of the earliest centuries. Judaism and Heathenism helped to inflame the discord. To the Ebionites or Nazarenes the Redeemer had only a human nature; the Docetes received Him as a phantom or a shadow. Cerinthus united the two heresies; which subsequently developed into a congeries of absurdities, in the blasphemous imaginations of those against whom St. Irenæus directed his treatise. Apollinaris taught that the Godhead was blended with a body, in which the Logos supplied the office of a soul. The kaleidoscope of falsehood multiplied the forms of illusion; nor could the most preposterous distortion remain long without its sect of disciples, when once the centre of unity had been relinquished. Confusion every where sowed the teeth of the old serpent, in resistance to authority and the annihilation of social order. Constantinople, Egypt, and the Eastern dioceses, offered the most fertile and prolific fields for such fearful harvests; although champions of gigantic power and orthodoxy upheld the Catholic standard with undying renown. But unhappily, that ambition had already manifested itself, which tended to exalt the Byzantine Patriarch to an almost independent headship over the Oriental Church; so that, placed in this unsound position, symptoms of subsequent schism were too frequently and painfully apparent. Nestorius, A.D. 429-31, pretended

nicely to discriminate between the humanity of his Maste
Christ, and the divinity of the Lord his Saviour; the Blesse
Virgin he professed to revere as the parent of Jesus, while
he objected to her genuine title as the Mother of God
which brought down upon him a condign condemnation i
the third œcumenical council at Ephesus. His rival Eu
tyches supported an opinion directly the reverse; he con
ceived that the Word Incarnate possessed but one nature
the human being absorbed in the divine,—a poisonou
doctrine not less subtle and dangerous than the other; an
which led to the convocation of the great council a
Chalcedon, in the autumn of A.D. 451. Six hundred an
thirty bishops assembled in the Church of St. Euphemi
where the legates of St. Leo presided, and propounded hi
famous tome or epistle, defining once for all the only tru
dogma on this profound mystery. That Christ exists i
one person yet in two natures, was announced as a cardina
article of the Catholic creed; which, together with th
honours due to our Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary, on th
score of her divine maternity, thenceforward separated th
wheat from the chaff throughout the empire. Nestorianism
unhappily extended itself over the whole of Persia, wher
the clergy abandoned celibacy, and fomented the fierc
enterprises of Nushirvan and his grandson: the Bactrians
the Medes, the Hindoos, and the Cingalese, listened to thei
perversion of the gospel; which also, at a later period, mad
its way into Tartary and China. Monophysitism unde
another name retained numerous proselytes, after it ha
sacked Jerusalem, and defiled with bloodshed its sacre
sepulchre. At Alexandria, the fury of heterodoxy burs
forth beyond even previous bounds. The fathers of Chal
cedon had deposed and punished Dioscurus, one of it
most profligate and schismatical archbishops. Proterius
his successor, was murdered, and his chair usurped by
monk called Timothy the Cat. Heresy lapsed rapidly an
naturally into superstition and fanaticism, and thousand
suffered death for adopting the right or the wrong shad
of a system which in itself was nothing but blackness
Civil authority, in attempting to interfere with spiritua
affairs upon secular principles, only added fuel to th

; nor could the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno,
82, rescue the temporising patriarchs of his metro-
om the justice of papal disapprobation. Justinian
heodora walked in the same ways with their pre-
or. The latter had listened to the disciples of
es, and though her consort discerned the errors of
, and brought about their condemnation in the fifth
l council, A.D. 553, his interference with the Holy
s intolerable; nor need we wonder at the heresy of
ter years, when he declared that not only was the
of Christ incorruptible, but that His Manhood had
been subject to any of our innocent wants or in-
es. Monothelitism soon followed, opposing the or-
belief that each of the two natures in our divine
r must possess its distinct and proper energy,
gh, of course, in operation they are invariably the
Heraclius upon this propounded his famous Ecthe-
Exposition, A.D. 639; and subsequently, his grand-
nstans his Type or Model, A.D. 648, to satisfy weak
nces; instead of leaving it to the Catholic Church,
lone can define what is correct or what is erroneous
e. The Popes were true on all occasions to their
rinciples, cheerfully submitting to exile or death,
than suffer the least approach to compromise:
er and whenever Catholicity could prevail, peace,
and prosperity resulted; but for the most part
hout the Oriental regions, metaphysical subtlety
with the force of a simoom, and prepared a path
mph for the greatest impostor who had yet appeared,
omet and his terrible Saracens.

w striking is the contrast between St. Gregory in
est, and the false prophet in the East, as the repre-
ves of truth and error. Each stands out on the page
ory, an impersonation of his own system. They
o a certain extent contemporaries, and their memoirs
us an opportunity of comparing, on the largest scale,
ture and consequences of Catholicity with those of
. Both were evidently amongst the foremost men
r time. The Pope announces his creed of Chris-
,—each dogma clearly stated,—the Scriptures in

its text as documents of proof, the Church, of which he is the head, interpreting them to the nations as an authoritative instructor, and claiming the submission of mankind to her moral and religious principles. Over against [illegible] he sets up his self-appointed prophet, with a farrago of forgeries collected from Judaic and heretical sources, as the records of a profession within whose cloudy limits [illegible] revels and revels; but to which a nominal adherence is exacted, involving the most enormous [illegible] of servitude. Of the one system the symbol is the Cross; its doctrines those of a Redeemer. His incarnation and atonement, the supernatural exhibitions of grace and power in conversions and miracles; its precepts those of love, peace, order, obedience, loyalty, and purity. Of the other system the symbol is the sword; it rejects every idea of vicarious propitiation; it lays no claim to internal or external miracles; it establishes a law of nationalism adapted to particular circumstances and countries, and lays the reins upon the very necks of the most dangerous passions. Just as under the old dispensation the schism of Jeroboam opened the floodgates for Paganism and Samaritanism, so under the New Testament did the divisions or secessions of Constantinople and the oriental patriarchates afflict the fair vineyard of Christendom, and admit the deluge of Islamism.

Mahomet was born in the 570th year of the Christian era, at Mecca, of a noble family said to have descended from Ishmael; but at all events of the tribe of Koreish, one of the most illustrious of the Arabs, which had produced some chieftains and many enterprising merchants. His father Abdallah died early, and bequeathed to his mother Amina, a Jewess, five camels and a slave. From such slender beginnings sprang the founder of the Caliphs and the author of the Koran. His habits of mind were like those one may often find in the desert,—serious, susceptible, generous, imaginative, and voluptuous. We are informed that he had an animated countenance, with a pleasing expression; that he was of middle stature, with limbs well proportioned. In the place of his birth was a celebrated idol, the Black Stone of the Caaba, venerated from remote

uity, and to which pilgrimages had been immemori-
made. Robbers had plundered one of the caravans;
o avenge the injury, the young son of Abdallah, on
ing his manhood, first took up arms. His next ex-
was to marry a rich widow, which gave him wealth
a position. From his mother he had heard that her
e still expected a deliverer; and various heretics,
ing from the Roman frontiers, engrafted on his
ent fancy their own errors, intermingled with those
nents of truth and fact which enable falsehood to
upon the waves of time. His country and its in-
ants also excited his attention and compassion. The
seemed the very school for an eastern enthusiast: a
rness dreary and almost destitute of life; the rays of
udless sun descending upon the lonely tent beneath
mp of palm-trees; colossal columns of sand moving
ully and silently across naked plains; hills, or per-
icular rocks, glazed in brightness, with here and
a spring of water, where the camel drinks in pic-
que solitude, before the stream has choked itself in
sand;—one may easily conceive how season after
n, amidst such scenery as this, Mahomet might
ge his dreams, under the shadow of a cliff by day,
; night, amidst the Arabian radiancy of the moon
stars. His countrymen were wild and brave; free
eir own horses, corrupt, proud, brutal, ignorant, and
stitious. He had brought himself to a conviction that
ight be their reformer, and conduct them victoriously
happier climes. Rumour must have wafted many
ge informations both to himself and the wanderers
gst whom he lived, fond of narratives, and delighting
overbs. They used to return thanks to the Invisible
eme for their four advantages beyond other dwellers
the earth: namely, that they wore turbans instead
idems; that they rejoiced in tents instead of walls;
they trusted in swords instead of trenches; and en-
poems instead of laws! Their capabilities of vision,
ness in hearing, and quickness of observation, derived
a life passed so much in the open air, and a dry
r climate, are almost beyond belief; yet such were

among the very best materials for a fanatic to form to his own purposes. Often seized either by fits of catalepsy, or falling into what is now better known as the trances of mesmerism, he believed himself in communication with the voices of angels. His vocation to the prophetical office came thus to him, A.D. 610, according to his own account, which of course will be attributed to self-delusion, or diabolism, or both, as the reader pleases. Fraud and violence, at all events, were superadded to the summons of Gabriel; when Mahomet attempted to seize the office of Guardian to the Sacred Stone, and nearly lost his life in the tumult. His flight on this occasion, the 16th of July, A.D. 622, commenced the epoch of the Hegira, whence the Moslem reckon their time, and which was instituted by the Caliph Omar, A.D. 639.

The belief of Islam adapted itself with wonderful facility to Arabian prejudices and heretical predilections. It avowed the Unity of God, with the necessary fiction that Mahomet was his Apostle. Speaking about as respectfully as some of the ancient schismatics or modern Protestants would do concerning Our Blessed Lady and her Divine Son, the Koran evidently depends upon its Anti-Trinitarianism, or, in other words, upon its rational heterodoxy, to find favour amongst the crazy fanatics of Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Africa. Sound is substituted in the room of sense, and self-indulgence in the place of self-denial; while over the whole is thrown an illusive veil of formalism, with precisely those counterfeits of real piety and austerity, apart from divine grace, which lull the conscience into slumber; such as certain ablutions, prayers five times a-day, the rite of circumcision, the great fast of the Ramadan, the Sabbath on a Friday, very moderate almsgiving, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. A sanguinary thirst for conquest spread far and wide. His own mission, being a complement of all that ever went before, was to supersede every other; and as he personally declined an appeal to the supernatural, he felt himself under the greater necessity of feeding the nascent zeal of his adherents with at least material triumphs. His votaries, however, in later periods, supplied an abundance of marvels: they assure us that

trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers; that the rafters of a house groaned to him; that irrational animals overwhelmed him with their complaints; that a particular shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; with legends of similar quality, amounting in number to nearly three thousand. The genuine phenomenon of his character lay in his influence over the Saracens. His first victory at Beder procured the announcement, that warriors falling in his cause departed to endless enjoyment, in fragrant and shady groves, where beautiful virgins awaited them; where celestial attendants sprinkled them from fountains of the roses of Paradise; while in goblets of pearl and gold they quickened appetite and quaffed immortality. He then summoned Heraclius of Constantinople, Chosroes of Persia, and the Emirs of Arabia, to receive his commands and submit to his laws. He adopted a signet of the most precious metals, inscribed with an apostolic title. In preaching, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree, until this was exchanged for the use of a chair, and a pulpit of rough timber. After ten years of regal and sacerdotal dignity, A.D. 622-632, it was resolved to propagate his imposture by the force of fire and the edge of the scimitar. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed for Islam, or a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer; whosoever dies in battle has his sins forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be odoriferous as musk, and resplendent as vermilion; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the plumes of angels and cherubim." He expired of a fever, at the age of sixty-three, on the 7th of June, A.D. 632, with the lie on his lips, that the messenger of death could not take his soul until permission had been asked from the fanatic himself for that purpose. A characteristic anecdote has been recorded of his conduct previous to his dissolution. "If there be any man," he exclaimed, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I now submit my own shoulders to the lash of retaliation; have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him produce my faults in the face

of the congregation; has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and interest of the debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drachms of silver." Mahomet heard the demand, satisfied it on the spot, and thanked his creditor for accusing him here rather than hereafter. Amidst the fearful license of polygamy, he left behind him but one child, his daughter Fatima, married to her cousin Ali, through whom she became ancestress of the Green Caliphs, who reigned over Western Africa in the tenth century; and afterwards throughout Egypt for two hundred years, to the days of the celebrated Saladin.

The false prophet of Mecca, in prohibiting his followers from the juice of the grape and the flesh of swine, well knew that posterity would sanction his prudence, especially upon sanitary grounds. His vile degradation of marriage gratified the impurest passions; so that, together with the military ardour which his own fanaticism and promises for the future excited, sensualism allured the Saracens from one battle-field to another, until the degenerate provinces of the empire, as also the entire regions from Assyria to India, groaned under the just chastisement of Almighty God. Those who succeeded Mahomet in his regal and religious character, were termed Commanders of the Faithful by their deluded followers, or Caliphs, of whom the first was Abu-Beker, A.D. 632-4. His three generals, Caled, Abu-Obeidah, and Amrou, carried out for himself and those who reigned after him an extent of conquest no less dazzling than unexpected. Omar ascended the throne, and governed from A.D. 634 to A.D. 644; Othman followed for eleven years, to A.D. 655; and Ali succeeded for six more, to A.D. 661. For the first generation after the death of Mahomet, these four representatives maintained his primitive simplicity, despising the pomps and vanities of the world, repairing to the moschs at the hours of prayer in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on their heads, with slippers in one hand, and a bow in the other, instead of a walking-staff. Their food consisted of barley-bread, or a few dates. When Omar preached, which he did frequently, ostentation pointed out the twelve

holes or patches in his tattered raiment; he was once found fast asleep amongst the mendicants of Medina; and his predecessor left nothing behind him but a dirty garment and five dinars. Yet these mortifications, it must be remembered, concealed neither cleanness of heart nor poverty of spirit. Schism already rent asunder the Moslem into the two great sects of the Sonnites, who modified the nonsense of the Koran by some hundred thousand traditions, and the Schiites, or adherents of Ali, who believe in the twelve Imaums, and, like modern scripturalists—equally absurd in another direction—cleave to the letter of a sacred book, without commentary or interpretation. Then came the hereditary dynasty of Moawiyah, or the Ommiades, A.D. 661-750, vehement assertors, as they affirmed, of traditional orthodoxy. The caliphs had now grown into full conformity with other potentates, knowing how to separate the superfluous from the essential. They drank wine, or at least sherbet; clothed themselves in robes of flowing silk, and transferred their chair of instruction and government from the humble Mecca to the splendid Damascus. Meanwhile, their arms had subdued the entire peninsula of Arabia and the whole of Egypt. The throne of St. Athanasius, with the noble Alexandrian library, perished in one and the same conflagration; a punishment well merited by those who had so basely forsaken the faith of the Nicene confessor. His doctrines were indeed the abhorrence of the Saracens. Their fanaticism would often spare the lives of women, children, or even ecclesiastics—always excepting the monks, described by them as "the shorn offspring of the devil." Nor perhaps can we otherwise account for the exception, than by recollecting the fidelity of monasteries to the Catholic Church; so that when the Flower of the Field* had been torn and trampled under foot in cities, it could still perfume with its fragrance the wild sterility of the desert.

To the acquisition of both banks of the Nile had been already added the rich realms of Persia. Ctesiphon was sacked, whilst Bassora and Cufa were founded. We may form an idea of the luxuriousness and refinement of the

* Flos Campi. Cant. chap. ii. ver. 1.

first, from a silken carpet, which was sixty cubits square, with a variegated and verdant border; the most beautiful picture of Paradise was worked in the centre, while the roses, fruits, and shrubs, were embroidered in gold, with all the colours of the precious stones. Before the middle of the seventh century, the Crescent glittered upon the walls of Ispahan and Persepolis, of Herat, Hamadan, Meru, and Balk; along the shores of the Caspian and the margin of the Oxus. Syria had no better fate: Damascus, with its delicious groves and rivers, was stormed into capitulation, A.D. 634; Heliopolis and Emesa fell the following year; Jerusalem in A.D. 637; Antioch and Aleppo within twelve months afterwards. Heraclius, the Roman emperor, lost all the imperial provinces from Nubia and the Euphrates to the banks of the Bosphorus. Africa was invaded and conquered from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, A.D. 647-709; and Spain in four summers, from A.D. 710 to A.D. 714. Under the last of the Ommiades, the representative of the false prophet stretched his sceptre over dominions extending two hundred days' journey from east to west; whilst northward and southward they spread on every side, to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. From the Pyrenees to Cape St. Vincent, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of China, over the greatest portion of the temperate zone, the blighting influences of the Koran prevailed. Cyprus and Rhodes were plundered. Within a century from the birth of Mahomet, his sectaries shook the fortifications of Constantinople, A.D. 668, and six times in as many successive seasons were their audacious attempts renewed. About two generations later the second grand siege was undertaken, A.D. 716-718, which principally failed through the efficacy of the Greek fire, composed of naphtha, sulphur, and pitch, in certain proportions. This composition seems to have answered many of the purposes of gunpowder; it produced a thick smoke and loud explosion, would burn furiously under water, could be poured from lofty ramparts upon the heads and hands of assailants, and was sometimes thrown in red-hot balls of stone or iron, or let loose in fire-ships against an enemy. When projected from copper

tubes, these last were fashioned into the shapes of fanciful monsters, and proved a most effective artillery for those times, so that the Saracens, until a later era, met with sure defeat around the Byzantine capital, whose inhabitants looked upon their tremendous pyropy as a special gift from heaven. It assisted to protect for ages the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the west, from the Arabs in Spain, most serious and alarming enterprises were undertaken against Gaul. Languedoc, or Septimania, as it was then called, with Gascony and parts of Acquitain, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, obeyed the sovereigns of Damascus and Samarcand, A.D. 721-31; nor was it before the mighty engagement between Tours and Poictiers, in October A.D. 732, when Charles Martel arrested and rolled back the Saracenic deluge, that Christendom could feel itself secure. At length the spirit of division, as an avenger to chastise the chastisers, once more burst forth amongst the Moslem. The Ommiades were overturned by the Abassides, 10th February, A.D. 750: more or less a triumph of the Schiites over the Sonnites. One prince alone of the former dynasty escaped into Spain, the famous Abdalrahman, A.D. 755; who planted his race upon the throne of Cordova, where for somewhat less than three centuries they maintained the magnificence of the White or Moawiyan Caliphs. Abu Abbas Abdallah al Saffah, descended from an uncle of Mahomet, adopted Black as his symbol, having always two standards of that gloomy colour borne aloft on staves nine cubits high in the van of his forces. He surnamed them Night and Shadow; and such they proved to the fortunes and followers of the rival banner. Al-Mansor, the brother and successor of Saffah, removed his sacred chair from Damascus to the banks of the Tigris, where Bagdad was built as a capital in the midst of gardens, which flourished for five hundred years. The Alcassar, or palace, contained long suites of apartments, and many single pavilions, all reflected, in the shape of an immense half-moon, upon the waves of the Hiddekel, flowing beneath its enclosure. Shiraz, Bassora, and the hills of Yemen, are connected with the amusements of our youth in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*,

as well as with Haroun Al Raschid, the celebrated contemporary of Charlemagne. Various minor revolutions ensued. Thus Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, refused the tribute due to Haroun for the territories of Kairwan, where he acted as governor. His rebellion enthroned the Aglabites over Western Africa, A.D. 800-941; whilst Edris, descended as he said from Fatima, established the kingdom of Fez, in the fertile plains of Mauritania, A.D. 829 to A.D. 907. Yet, the genealogy of the Edrisites being somewhat doubtful, the real family of the daughter of the prophet overcame both the Aglabites and Edrisites. Mahadi Abdallah commenced the contest in A.D. 908. He founded at first a capital after his own name; but within sixty years he and his successors had so consolidated their power, that the Green or Fatimite Caliphate extended over all Egypt from A.D. 969 to A.D. 1171. Alkahira, or Grand Cairo, was erected under their auspices. Even the mosques of Damascus, Jerusalem, and Mount Sinai, as well as those of Tunis, Fez, and Morocco, revered their supremacy. The Commanders of the Moslem, however, not unfrequently lost their influence for considerable intervals. Bagdad itself fell under the yoke of the Turks, A.D. 861; and under the Bowides, who recovered Persia for a century, A.D. 933-1035. So, again, the Taherites reigned in Chorassan, A.D. 813-872; who were expelled by the Soffarides, deriving their appellation from the trade of their progenitor, a soffar, or brazier. Their sway continued to A.D. 902; not a little confounded with that of the Samanides, who emigrated from beyond the Oxus, and usurped the Choresmian provinces down to A.D. 909. The Toulinides and Ikshidites had infested the Nile,—the former from A.D. 868 to A.D. 906; and the latter from A.D. 936 to A.D. 970, when the Green Banner effected its final triumph. Nor must the Hamadanites of Mesopotamia, A.D. 892-1001, nor the Zeïrides of Tunis, A. D. 971, be altogether omitted.

In this rapid survey of the Arabian empire, we may remark, that from the reign of Haroun Al Raschid, and before its dismemberment into the smaller fragments, the Moslem became as distinguished for their thirst after knowledge as for their love of military glory. Schools for secular

science multiplied every where; the works of the Greek philosophers were translated into Arabic, and overclouded with voluminous explanations; learned professors and physicians from among the scattered tribes of Judaism contributed their quota of Hebrew and cabalistic erudition; while alchemy and astrology, cherished amidst the absurdities of Saracenic delusion, at least prepared a soil for the better harvests of chemistry and astronomy. Empiricism thus paves the way for genuine physiology. Some acquaintance with mechanics was borrowed from Constantinople. Flashes of fitful prosperity occasionally relieved and illuminated even Mahometan darkness; gorgeous palaces adorned each seat of government, with characteristic schools, manufactories, market-places, public groves, and curious water-works. Moawiyah established a regular system of postal communication throughout his immense empire, upon a plan probably similar to that of the Romans, and which they had borrowed from the Persians. It must be admitted, at the same time, that the basis of all this temporal grandeur rested upon a gross imposture. The whole affair was a colossal frenzy, an armed fanaticism; the most imperial heresy that the world ever beheld; an organisation of error, with blasphemy in its professions, and licensed immorality or violence for its practice. Never were the weapons of carnal warfare more ferociously wielded against the Church of God and His faithful worshippers. Like their forefather Ishmael, the hand of the followers of Islam was hostile to that of every other man; nor could any thing but Catholicity have been the instrumental preserver of Christendom from a degradation unknown to Europe, and the horrors of oriental barbarism.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 511-1032.

THE FRANKS, UNDER THE MEROVINGIAN AND CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTIES — CHARLEMAGNE — THE FEUDAL SYSTEM AND STATE OF SOCIETY.

THE genius of Clovis survived for some period with his posterity; amongst whom the Frankish kingdom might be fairly considered as hereditary, subject only to an election of the particular individual. His sons consolidated his conquests. Burgundy, Provence, Austrasia, Bavaria, Thuringia, then comprehending parts of Lower Hessia and Brunswick, together with Gascony and Languedoc, formed the vast and splendid inheritance possessed at one time by the Merovingian family. The Salic laws were founded on eminently Catholic principles, in requiring, so strongly as they did, the sanction of religion for all actions of importance. Their national assemblies not only included the bishops, whose advice directed, whilst their blessing consecrated the proceedings of each Champ de Mars; but the growing states of the west came to regard in this way the Pope as their spiritual father; whilst he, in return, deemed it his duty to impart a sort of sacred character to such conventions. From these proceeded the Capitularies, of which the oldest had little relation to aught else than personal morals and divine worship. In remarking, however, that the descendants of Clovis trod in the military footsteps of their great parent, it must not be forgotten, that their success in acquiring more territory was naturally weakened through various divisions and subdivisions. The dynasty, in fact, was often nominally aggrandised, when it was in reality being undermined. The great Frank himself set an example of quartering his dominions, although in unequal shares, amongst his four male children; a precedent imitated in the case of Chlotaire, the sole successor of his brothers and nephews, A.D. 561. Meanwhile, improvident grants of land and slaves brought into notice and power a

class of nobles, who soon claimed their enormous estates by right of prescription, and whose voice began to be clamorous, as a middle and potent agency between the sovereign and freemen, in the general constitution. Vainly it so happened, that a third time the different portions of the Merovingian empire were re-united. Female profligacy inflamed the corruption of the court and aristocracy. The second Chlotaire, whether voluntarily or otherwise, in A.D. 615, laid down the great outlines of that domestic policy which subsequently resulted in extraordinary consequences. Assisted by his prelates, secular magnates, and liege subjects, he conceded full security for person and property against oppression and arbitrary taxation. Spiritual and temporal lords were provided with sufficient privileges and independence to render them competent guardians of liberty, as then understood: their possessions were secured to them for no other purpose; and that the bishops might retain an influence equivalent to that of their lay rivals, it was decreed, that the former should be the protectors of all emancipated bondsmen. Dignities were to be held upon the tenure of obedience to the regulations of the monarchy and the Church. Each freeman was to be tried by his peers; and by the same code, or legal customs, to which his judges themselves would be subjected. None were allowed to hold office in any country of which they were not natives, and with whose customs therefore they might be supposed unacquainted. These arrangements lasted with more or less variation until the twelfth century, when the accession of the burgesses contributed to establish an equilibrium. Then gradually ensued the depression of the nobility, as a high-road to the despotism of a single ruler.

After the murder of several princes, so that in forty years six had perished by poison or some other form of assassination, the crown came to be worn by a succession of royal idiots,—tools in the hands of ambitious officials. Foremost among the latter were the Mayors of the Palace, whose simple duty at first had been to lay petitions or representations before their masters. The mental infirmity of sovereigns rendered the position a most important one; ere long it grew to be elective, and men of energetic talents

united it with military command. Pepin d'Heristhal added to these an address which none could surpass or overreach: with the eye of a falcon in the soul of a public minister, the whole authority of the state seemed to fall quite naturally into his grasp. In war he pursued a policy not less successful than that which he adopted in peace: he assumed the prerogatives both of justice and mercy; revived the national assemblies, which some of his predecessors had suppressed; gave away offices, distributed fiefs, administered the finances, and relieved the monarch, whom he professed to serve, from all the toils and trials of government. On grand occasions, the degenerate representative of Clovis appeared before his people, seated upon the throne of his forefathers; he saluted his liegemen, and received their homage in return. The nation offered a donative, which he handed over to the Mayor of his Palace, an attendant meekly standing at his footstool. Whatever that personage respectfully suggested was of course assented to by the Merovingian puppet in purple; who, when the farce had terminated, ascended his chariot, drawn by four oxen, which conveyed him into retirement and obscurity, until the next illusive exhibition. Pepin performed his part to admiration. He obtained the Dukedom of Austrasia, which included the German provinces. Envy, tumult, and fear, perhaps seldom slept; and to these many former officials had fallen easy sacrifices. The founder of the Carlovingians, however, reigned in reality, though in disguise. He cleared France from some of her overgrown forests, drained her morasses, and put down his most able or haughty antagonists. His sway was paramount in Neustria, including the original kingdoms of Soissons, Paris, and Orleans, with that of Burgundy, generally appendant, though presided over by a mayor of its own. But the French empire was always considered as one, whatever might be the number of its inheritors or occupants. Pepin maintained his administration for twenty-seven or twenty-eight years; and died in advanced age A.D. 712, leaving his authority in the hands of his widow, Plectrude, for a brief interval, who was to act as guardian for a minor child. Necessity, however, set all this aside; and Charles Martel, the illegitimate

offspring of the late regent, whose talents were known to be more than upon a level with those of his father, received an almost unanimous summons to guide the vacant helm.

Besides other enemies, at home and abroad, the terrrible Saracens, as we saw in the last chapter, had spread themselves over the plains of Gascony, crossed the Dordogne, and defeated Eudes, the Duke of Aquitaine; even Gap and Grenoble had joined the infidels. Their predatory parties attacked the borders of Burgundy, and approached Nice. In defence of all Christendom and Europe, Charles united his forces with those of the vanquished provincials, whose ducal leader had been his personal rival. The hero well answered to his name, that of Martel, or the Hammer. On a Saturday in October, A.D. 732, was fought the battle of Tours, already mentioned. As has been well observed, the nations of Asia, Africa, and Gaul advanced on this occasion with equal ardour, to an encounter which would decide the religious history of the world. The Franks formed in a close and impenetrable phalanx, protected by their shields as with a bulwark, and thus sustained without a recoil the onset of the Moslem. Abdarrahman, on his own side, exhibited prodigies of valour; when, in a moment, the Christian host, animated with sudden fire, rushed irresistibly forward, carrying all before them. The Mayor of the Palace was to be the progenitor of emperors, and his kingly soul now glowed amidst the horrors of the conflict, as though he realised the glorious anticipation. The Duke of Aquitaine remembered his recent humiliation, which he burned to wipe away. Every peer and paladin fought for a triumph, dependent, in the imagination of each, upon individual as well as general effort. At length the Crescent paled before the Cross of Calvary, and the day was decisive with respect to the future limits of the Arabian arms. Towards evening, the chief of Islam in Spain, with the flower of his chivalry, had fallen. So colossal and astounding did the victory prove, that the numbers of Mahometans said to have been slain are loosely stated at three hundred thousand! The Franks acquired Septimania, which the Saracens had conquered from the Visigoths; and Pepin, the son and successor of Charles, was elected twenty years

afterwards sovereign over the entire nation, A.D. 752. Pope Stephen the Third confirmed, by his apostolical authority, the deposition of Childeric, the last of the Merovingian monarchs, as also the newly-acquired power conferred upon the Carlovingian family.

An outcry, altogether unreasonable, has been raised by Protestant and infidel historians, with regard to the conduct of the Church at this crisis. The steps have been glanced at in these pages by which the divine and spiritual supremacy of the Pontiffs came to gather around them a paramount and temporal authority over the potentates of the earth. Their more immediate subjects on the Seven Hills found no difficulty, and felt no reluctance at that time, in gradually acknowledging this secular sovereignty. Their pastor, the common father of Christendom, was their prince to all visible intents and purposes. St. Gregory I. had neither lived nor reigned in vain. Commands, transmitted to them from the representatives of the Greek emperors at Ravenna, accustomed as these last were to despise the occidentals as barbarians, could engender nothing but disgust and dispositions towards resistance. The frequent heterodoxy of the Byzantine court naturally inflamed such a temper of mind; whilst the greatest hardships were inflicted upon the Holy See, through one exarch after another claiming a right of confirmation on the election of each successive pontiff. This pretension had its origin in the abuse of a veto introduced by the Arian Goths. Numerous and protracted vacancies were the consequence; during which, sacrilegious simony found too many patrons at Constantinople. At length, on the demise of Pope Theodore, the 13th of May, A.D. 649, the Roman clergy and people proceeded to an independent choice, which fell upon Martin of Todi, whose saintly courage and virtue subsequently procured for him the crown of the confessor. That struggle ensued which every age will see repeated, between the Seed of the Woman and the astuteness of a world lying in the arms of the Wicked One. The oppressor wanted power and money; and, according to his calculation, the Church of God was the real lamb with the golden fleece. Orders for so lucrative a

sheep-shearing, as robbing the fold of Christ must ever seem to be, were issued in due form; and Maurice and his successors, from time to time, helped out their exhausted exchequers with ecclesiastical spoils. Under Bardanes Philippicus, a thorough schismatic, it was resolved, in an assembly on the Capitol, that the Catholics should no longer obey an insolent tyrant on the Bosphorus, or circulate his coinage: his name was to be omitted from the public prayers, nor would they suffer his statue to be erected in the aisles of St. John Lateran. A sedition which ensued only shows how unambitious the Popes were of securing the secular sceptre which an almighty Providence put into their hands. Their disinterestedness, moreover, shone out still more strongly in the subsequent iconoclastic controversy. During the early part of the eighth century, an Isaurian pedlar named Conon, who drove an ass as an itinerant merchant of small wares to country markets, founded a new dynasty in the city of Constantine, 25th March, A.D. 718, assuming the diadem under the title of Leo III. For selfish purposes, he and his family evoked a spirit from the bottomless pit, compounded in equal proportions of Judaism, Mahometanism, and what may be termed rational religion. Statecraft at Constantinople had two bugbears,—the supremacy of Rome, and symbolism, or the worship of images. These last, as is well known by all honest minds, were the ancient ornaments of the sanctuary, and the books of the common people. Not that their adorations were directed towards the mere wood or stone, but the form served to lead the thoughts towards the ideal and sacred object which it typified. Leo III. caused these images to be broken in pieces with contempt and abhorrence; and in A.D. 725 he issued an edict prohibiting every person from manifesting respect towards representations either of the Redeemer or His saints, casting down even the great golden crucifix over the imperial palace. Resistance rose in a moment: "in the west, as well as in the east, but above all in Italy," says Giannone, "not only was the edict disobeyed, but it excited such indignation among the people, that they broke out into open insurrection. Nay more,—the exarch, wishing to

carry matters with a high hand at Ravenna, produced commotions most serious and ruinous; for having given directions that the images should be destroyed by main force, such a tumult followed, that the Ravignani formally revolted from the emperor." Their example was imitated in the Roman Duchy Campania and the Pentapolis. Gregory II., however, at that time pope, so far from fomenting the fires of rebellion, did his best to trample them out. He remonstrated indeed with the tyrant, as became his high and sacred office; but to the uttermost he attempted to repress insurrection. With the penetration of a truly great mind, he foresaw that the unholy policy of his adversaries could not fail to prove suicidal. On six different occasions an effort was made to assassinate him; and then the Lombards were called in to ravage what the Isaurian had discovered he could no longer either protect or retain. Well for the world was it that a series of able sacerdotal princes illustrated this important period. Gregory, and another of the same name, Stephen, Paul, and Hadrian II., combined first-rate statesmanship with blameless lives. They beckoned to the valiant Franks to protect them against both Greek and Barbarian; and they were right in doing so. Pepin was too happy to procure the papal sanction for his popular election; and he caught at the honour of acting as champion to the successors of St. Peter. By a strict alliance between himself and Rome, he effected a revolution not less beneficial to his own family than to mankind at large; whilst by his grateful Donation, as it is styled in history, he placed the pontifical territories upon a firm and enduring basis.

Descending from the Alps to humble the pride of the Lombards, he compelled those ruthless brigands to disgorge their plunder. The exarchate formed the first fruits of his restitutive conquests, including the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with its inseparable dependency of the Pentapolis, stretching along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advancing into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennine. Towards Modena, the donative would appear to have been commensurate with the ancient province of Emilia, which would

carry it much farther westward than the modern frontiers of the Papal States. Spoleto, Beneventum, Corsica, the Eternal City, with its ample Campagna, the patrimonies of the Sabines, Narni, Osimo, and Numano, completed the now recognised acquisition. The keys of the various towns, cities, and fortresses, together with the document itself, and a Confession of Faith, were all solemnly laid upon the altar of St. Peter. Envoys from Constantinople applied to the Franks for a reconsideration of the imperial pretensions to Central Italy, when Pepin only answered them with a sort of respectful scorn. It is the remark of an historian in no way favourable to Catholicity, that the Greek emperor had clearly abdicated or forfeited every conceivable vestige of a right on this occasion. The sword of the Lombard had been broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian; nor was it in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and armies in a double expedition beyond the mountains. An absolute dominion over the domains of the apostolic throne was thus happily established, liable, of course, to those secular fluctuations which attend all sublunary affairs. It comprised the supreme selection of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the command of all civil, military, or naval forces. Not, however, had the *municipal* government expired at Rome, the existence of which has led to so much misapprehension and misstatement, as though a co-ordinate sovereignty still subsisted between the Patrician and senate of the city on the one hand, and the Pontiffs on the other. Muratori shows, that when the Byzantine yoke was once got rid of, the ancient system of corporative self-management remained, involving at the same time no trace of any thing beyond a civic superintendence over local interests, or that could clash or cope with the papal power. Beyond all question, these changes, effected by the Franks in the eighth century, were most popular. The provincials had long detested their oppressors. The emperors on the Bosphorus combined the malignancy of heresy with the vices of orientalism. Little else than emasculated subtlety, and avarice no less greedy than it was faithless and cruel, had ever crawled from under the Byzantine

diadem. Over against them raged the ferocious Lombards, cowardly, bloodthirsty, worthless, and vile. Their destruction, says an able modern writer, was altogether in favour of the Italians; and nowhere else, throughout the peninsula, was the reaction so complete and striking as within the boundaries of the ecclesiastical states. There the primitive possessors of the soil,—the Latins, the Sabines, the Umbri, Hernicans, and Etruscans,—were emerging once more into existence and freedom. It is an ascertained and most curious fact, that whilst of the old Roman stock, descended from Romulus and his successors, scarcely any vestiges survive, having been annihilated as it were through wars, the invasions of the barbarians, and enforced emigrations,—the previous aboriginal populations once again seem to re-appear, "and lift up their heads when the tempests of ages have passed over them."

By foes and friends it is agreed that the Popes were the first who ever reigned through opinion, for the benefit of at least the medieval nations, labouring for the diffusion of knowledge, and to preserve the more valuable works of antiquity; at a time, too, when nowhere but in the Church could any safety for science or learning be found. They then nobly discharged the highest and most onerous duties of kings: they established colleges, repaired and beautified the shrines of religion, opened asylums for orphanage, the aged, the sick, and the broken-hearted. They stood as a wall of brass against the assaults of barbarism; and under their steering hand the Church, like another ark, freighted with the hopes of a new society and a new history, bore up gallantly amidst storms the most tremendous, of trial, lawless crime, ignorance, persecution, and brutality. Their works shine out gloriously in an age of disaster and gloom; for at a time when every other governing authority lay prostrate, or had disappeared altogether, their power rose amidst the weltering scene of wreck and confusion, serene and terrible even to the most ruthless tyrants and infuriated barbarians. It rose like a rock, immovable amidst the chaos of society. It was the ægis of order, the protection of the weak from the mighty: charity and light were with it; and the Peace of God,

which diffused in the heart, cured every pain, and healed even the wounds and bruises of memory. Such were the doings of this newly-inaugurated dynasty of the Popes: and by such acts as these it was, not by intrigue, or arms, or ambition,—that the Pontiffs at length became kings *de jure*, as they had been the kings *de facto*, of Rome and its immediately dependent provinces for centuries.

Pepin, in the seventeenth year of his reign, A.D. 768, assembled all his dukes, counts, bishops, and abbots, and, with their consent, divided the French empire between his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The latter of these died A.D. 771: the former is the well-known Charlemagne of history, whose services to Catholicity and civilisation have placed him amongst imperial heroes. In his person was revived the Western Empire, when he was crowned at Rome by Leo the Third, on Christmas day, A.D. 800. His policy more perfectly developed the plans of his father in its Italian objects of protecting the Pope and suppressing the Lombards. These last beheld their kingdom shattered in fragments: so that for a thousand miles, from the Alps to the borders of Calabria, the sceptre of the Franks asserted its temporal authority. Prior to this event the Lombard fief of Beneventum had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern realm of Naples. Salerno was then a capital of no inconsiderable elegance and refinement. Its duke did homage to Charles, amidst a throng of youthful nobles, carrying falcons on their wrists, and surrounding the graver magistrates and counsellors of the city, in embroidered robes of state. The ducal seat was enchased with gold; Arichis, its occupant, had risen above much of the savagery of his people through intercourse with Rome and its hierarchy. His vassalage in the south proved less inglorious than the crushing depression of his compatriots in the north of the peninsula. There even the Venetians acknowledged the influence of Charlemagne, who could foresee without jealousy the fame and ascendency awaiting that nascent republic. He united all Germany, from the head of the Adriatic to the neighbourhood of the Baltic and the Vistula, under his sway, including Friesland, Franconia, Hesse, Thuringia, Alsace,

Bavaria, Swabia, and Switzerland. To these must be added Bohemia and Hungary, to the conflux of the Danube with the Theiss and the Save, besides the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia. His power in France included every region within the Rhine and the Pyrenees. In Spain he acquired Rousillon and Catalonia to the Ebro, forming what was called the Spanish March, under the Counts of Barcelona; together with Arragon and Navarre, and the Balearic Islands. In one word, he reigned, as the successor of Honorius, between east and west from Pampeluna to the Carpathians; and between the north and south from the frontiers of Denmark and Prussia to nearly the Gulf of Tarentum. He protected Corsica against the Arabs; whilst with the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid there existed the most amicable intercourse, the commander of the Moslem presenting him with a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. He was lord of about two-thirds of the ancient occidental empire, with large additions of territory inhabited by those nations known as the Teutonic and the Sclave.

In stature he is said to have been full seven feet high; and his crown, preserved at Vienna, is of gigantic size. No one can look upon his effigy, even after the lapse of a thousand years, without being struck with the latent majesty that seems to lie enwrapped in its features. They are those of a sovereign Colossus, guarding and guiding the course of society, as it passes from ancient to modern times. He may fairly be portrayed as an impersonation of the middle ages; stern, learned, warlike, chivalrous, and religious, after a particular fashion. In the days of Homer he would have been a king of men; one of those iron shepherds who ruled their subjects with the staff and the sword, and with rather more blows than caresses. When recreating himself in the literary society of Alcuin, Eginhart, and other literary worthies, he was called the David of his circle, and not without reason. In his gallant bearing, his love of splendid achievements, and in his passion for the field of battle and the choir of the sanctuary, he reminds us of the Hebrew monarch. From his youth

he was full of fervour and fire; an adept in the tournament, with an arm as irresistible as his commanding genius, wielding a ponderous lance like a wisp of straw at play, or plunging into a river and crossing it,—the mightiest swimmer of his party. His strength maintained by constant temperance in all respects but one, and matured by daily exercise, astonished his contemporaries: at his appearance every heart is said to have throbbed higher, every head to have bent with deference and awe, every eye to have acknowledged his imperial and penetrating glance. His attire, generally simple, consisted chiefly of a doublet made from the warm fur of the otter; and in public he wore a short golden gown fastened with a girdle. On these occasions he also assumed grey-coloured ribbons, placed crossways over his trowsers and stockings, uncut diamonds on his shoes, and a mantle usually either white or green; the handle of an enormous sword carried his seal. But in ordinary circumstances he befriended plain dress, both in himself and others; his sumptuary laws attest his sincerity in doing so: whilst now and then a practical joke still further manifested that he was in earnest. It must be remembered that however paradoxical such conduct may seem to us, manners were different then, and folly had to play the part of wisdom in instructing rude subjects. The nobles of his court presumed one winter to figure before him in magnificent silk robes, lined with minever. He watched the opportunity of a very rainy morning, when the signal was suddenly given for hunting, on which the autocrat mounted his horse without further notice, allowing none to change their costume, but carrying them at once to the chase just as they were. Through brake and brier, through forests and over morasses, right onward amidst the most pitiless weather, his furbelowed courtiers had to ride. No sooner had they returned home than he summoned them to dry their habits before monstrous fires; and laughing at the destruction of their shrivelling finery, he observed, "What a tattered company I have around me, while my sheep-skin cloak is little the worse for wear. Let the world, my friends, judge of your rank by merit rather than by gaudy raiment; the last

only suits women, or those seasons of ceremony when robes are worn for pomp, and not for use." His ambition may be thought to have caused a vast effusion of blood, in thirty-three successive campaigns, especially in those against the Saxons; yet it must be borne in mind that in the north there was a sanguinary polytheism, which could only be overthrown by violence, and that much of his military policy was prospectively or relatively defensive; some of it bore the character of strict judicial retaliation. He aimed at better things, such as the junction of the Saône and the Meuse, or the Rhine and the Danube, by canals of intercommunication. Few princes have rivalled his incessant activity: he was felt and feared every where; nor with intimates was he otherwise than beloved. He favoured literature to the uttermost of his power; patronised poetry, collected the legendary ballads of the various nations under his sway, cultivated history, founded academies for the laity, and monastic schools for the clergy; promoted the study of music, grammar, and the classic authors; cherished agriculture, trade, and commerce; improved old roads, and constructed many new ones; and, above all, compiled and published the great body of his Capitularies, which corrected innumerable abuses, and reformed the manners of an age. Their minuteness may excite a smile or a sneer; but great minds will often illustrate their magnanimity by the successful management of apparently little things. He allied himself with the commercial towns on the Baltic, and the richer cities of the east, between whom considerable traffic was established in peltry and precious stones, in wines, rich stuffs, and fruits. His rural palaces were deemed architectural prodigies amongst such as had never crossed the Alps: their real importance lay in their being surrounded by gardens, fields, vineyards, forests, and arable lands, wherein the provincials might learn horticulture and husbandry with economy and good management. He was married five times, and had as many ladies besides, each and all of course in due succession, who, although not assuming the title of consorts, yet came, according to the permitted custom of that period, within the category of matrimony.

Still, it must be allowed that his indulgence exceeded ordinary, or even appropriate limits; nor did his family, as might be expected, produce any model of continence or chastity. He might never have lived with more than one wife at a time; but the displeasure of Almighty God and Holy Church at his frequent divorces became abundantly visible in the domestic rebellions which afflicted his household, and the punishments which overtook his posterity.

Within the limits of his reign, or its consequent influences, the feudal system was formed into shape and vitality; his power, in fact, rested upon it, for the subtle artifices of the mayors of the palace had conciliated the favour of the vassals by converting freehold property into fiefs, and then rendering those fiefs heritable. After his coronation as emperor, he exacted from every subject, without distinction, an oath of allegiance similar to that by which the servitor bound himself to his lord. Thus he proclaimed himself universal sovereign, whom every vassal of the empire was bound to serve in person. The essential distinction of ranks in France, Spain, and Lombardy had its basis in the possession of land or civil employment. An aristocracy of wealth preceded that of birth, connected as both were with ideas of physical or material force, since the notion of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from that of a military establishment. What seemed chiefly sought for was protection. A victorious army cantoned throughout the country it had seized, continued under its officers, holding themselves in readiness for all defensive purposes. The process of partition or subinfeudation subsequently ensued. Leaders, by their superior allotments, had the means of rewarding past services, or securing future ones. Countries got overrun, in fact, with petty sovereigns; whilst Charlemagne, so long as he lived, enlisted them all under his own banner. National ordinances enacted that each man should provide himself with arms and equipments for six months, and provisions for a quarter of a year. The cavalry used shields, lances, swords, daggers, bows and arrows. Whoever failed to be present at a levy had to pay a fine; and counts of a district led into the field the

cultivators of their own territory. The Carlovingian emperors, however, raised and paid out of their own revenues regular body-guards, clothed in scarlet uniforms. These mercenaries constituted a sort of armed police,—the teeth and claws of the Capitularies. Under the ancient Germanic constitution, many features of which still maintained their ground, the division of freeborn provincials had been into decades, or tens, and hundreds: the former disappeared, but the latter grew into larger denominations, and, with their respective magnates, attended the local courts. In these, twelve men, chosen by the people, or notables, as the case might be, sat on the bench of justice, together with the representative of the lord. Here all high crimes were tried within certain limits, until, towards the middle of May, the imperial commissioner came, at whose summons bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, viscounts, hundredors, bailiffs from the cities, and deputies from the convents, gathered themselves into a single assembly. Every complaint then and there underwent investigation, whether in the way of appeal, or immediate judicature; and unrighteous decisions were reversed, or unjust judges deposed from their dignities. The monarch professed to have little legislative authority; his discussions with a number of ministers in council settled what laws were necessary, while the results, in the shape of projects, circulated from the referendary to the great ecclesiastics and secular nobles, as well as from them to the lesser prelates, and municipal or rural officials, by whom they were laid before the popular convention. This last confirmed them by elevating their hands, or expressed their disapproval by murmurs, and if accepted by a majority, the crown then ratified them.

Charlemagne, however, no doubt intended to counteract what he conceived to be in excess, with regard to the liberties of his subjects; and his modes of administering equity might well remind them that he was their king as well as their judge. The Germans were no longer permitted to appear armed before the public tribunals; although he allowed any suitor to select, if he pleased, the code of the nation to which he happened to belong, and abide by its arbitrament. At the same time, the em-

peror availed himself of these legal varieties to entangle still more and more the complicated and perplexing web of what he called justice; thereby rendering his laws far too intricate for the commonalty to comprehend, without the assistance of jurisconsults, trained from their youth upwards to subvert the foundations of freedom. The Capitularies moreover were compiled in Latin, instead of the vulgar tongue; another circumstance more favourable to literature than liberty. The Franks therefore had to live and learn; though they considered themselves a privileged nation, being free from all imposts except tolls towards the roads and bridges. They and their monarch were one. Presents were voted to him according to the abilities of the donors. He subsisted like his peers and peasants, for the most part, upon the revenues of his own estates: his linen was spun for him by the fair hands of his wives and daughters, as might also have been said of Augustus. Slaves brought every day an account of their work, or the eggs that were sold by them;—whilst others, more fortunate in their bondage, held small farms upon leases, paying only a rent or land-tax. These were, strictly speaking, serfs attached to the soil, and generally transferred with it. The conquered states paid tribute, yet by no means in an oppressive degree; and almost all ancient usages were suffered to exist undisturbed, such as that of the Furstenstein at Karnburg near Clagenfurt, which was a ceremony connected with the election of the dukes of Carinthia. A rustic, seated upon the sacred stone, commands the successful candidate to be brought before him: "Who is he that so proudly prances along?" inquires the rustic; upon which the multitude shout their reply, "The prince of our country!" Again the rustic asks, "Is he also a righteous judge, an improver of the land, a defender of Christianity, the protector of widows and orphans?" The people answer, "He is, and will be so:" upon which the rustic bids the duke assume his dignity; and giving him a box on the ear, yields his seat to him. Such picturesque customs give us an idea of the age perhaps better than many dissertations. The great cities of Italy were governed by similar dukes, of whom there were thirty-six, when the

son of Pepin crossed the Alps, and overthrew the Lombardic realm. They sat in the courts of justice, as the Frankish nobles did, with the members of the hierarchy, and lay magnates; and as with the Germans, so it fared with the Italians, except in a few particulars. The law of the nation to which the accused belonged decided in criminal cases; but in local ones, the law of the province where the estates of the parties were situated. Amongst the Thuringians, Hessians, Bavarians, and Swabians, considerable jealousy remained; nor would it have succeeded, had Charlemagne attempted to curb them, through counts who were not exactly their own countrymen. He obviated the difficulty by a judicious substitution of the crozier for the sceptre: bishops therefore assumed the management of these provinces; and their apparently gentle rule, fortified with firmness when occasion required it, both civilised and christianised at the same time. Their spiritual authority was necessarily clothed with temporal prerogatives; so that the Church culminated in wealth and influence.

Indeed few things lay nearer the heart of the great Carlovingian potentate. He renewed the ancient yet too often violated ordinances, that the hierarchy should never be appointed by royal or imperial authority; but that all prelates were to be elected according to the sacred canons; he forbade their bearing arms without reasonable or pressing cause; nor would he allow the lesser clergy to carry weapons, or keep falcons, dogs, or fools. They might indeed, under certain severe restrictions, now and then enjoy the pleasures of hunting; but it was on condition that they converted the skins of the game into binding for books, which he hoped by these means to render more general. Moderation, decency, and gravity of demeanour were enjoined upon the priesthood throughout; and many millions of heathen owed their conversion to his munificence. Powerful sees were erected in the interior of Germany, such as Paderborn and others; whilst Bremen became distinguished as an outpost of Christianity against the paganism of Scandinavia. Monasteries reared their heads in the most unexpected quarters,—centres for the propagation of the gospel, for the support of hospitality, when

houses of entertainment were rare. refuges for the sick and afflicted. hospitals for lepers. schools for the ministered. and homes for the indigent poor. The people sought their protection the more anxiously. when they observed that the pious monks imposed the same reverence upon the emperor or the grandee. as on the lowliest members of the community. Charlemagne died full of days and glory A.D. 814: and lies. or rather sits. in his sepulchre at Aix-la-Chapelle: where. on the tomb being opened by Otho III., he was discovered upright as on a throne. attired in his imperial robes. During his reign of forty-six years. he had made no less than four pilgrimages to the Vatican: whilst an activity without parallel in history enabled him to endure an immense number of campaigns. superintend every department of his vast dominions. reform the coinage. establish the legal divisions of money. collect libraries. gather about him the learned of every country. methodise the discordant codes of barbarism and Roman legislation. and prepare a maritime force against the impending tempest of the Normans. His least fortunate legacy was the partition of his extended empire. The last of his testaments. drawn up in the character of a private individual. received its confirmation only just before his death. About the middle of January. coming out of a bath. he felt himself feverish. and was attacked by pleurisy within three or four days. He then applied his entire thoughts towards his approaching dissolution. On the 27th he fell into an agony: and on the 28th finding his immense strength now altogether exhausted. the attendants heard him whisper in a very low voice: "Lord. into Thy hands I commend my spirit:" after which he gently expired. in the seventy-first year of his age. and the fourteenth from his receiving the diadem at Rome. His treasures were distributed amongst his children. or their representatives: with the exception of large sums bequeathed to various churches. convents. colleges. and monastic houses.

His grandson Bernard inherited the kingdom of Italy. and Louis the Debonnair succeeded to the empire of the Franks. comprising Austrasia. Neustria. Burgundy. Navarre, Arragon. and Catalonia, Saxony, Upper and Lower

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 602-1203.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE UNDER THE HERACLIAN, ISAURIAN, AMORIAN, BASILIAN, AND COMNENIAN DYNASTIES—STATE OF SOCIETY THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCES.

PHOCAS the Centurion, mentioned at the close of the third chapter, began his reign over Constantinople, as the successor of Maurice, the 23d of November, A.D. 602, and ended it on the 4th of October, A.D. 610. Cedrenus informs us, that in person he was a crooked, diminutive wretch, with shaggy eyebrows, red hair, a beardless chin, and a horrid scar upon his cheek. His mind corresponded to the man. He tortured and beheaded the empress of his predecessor and her three daughters. The provinces bled and groaned. His chief officials were executioners, who became expert in tearing out tongues, in amputating hands and feet; in managing the scourge so as to prolong agonies without inflicting death; in burning, so as to melt the victim slowly; or transpiercing the person with the largest number of arrows, and yet not touch a vital part. Ignorant of letters, laws, and arms, he revelled in ceaseless debauchery. Crispus, his son-in-law, Heraclius, heir of the Exarch of Africa, and Nicetas, a noble of rank and ability, conspired against the tyrant. The second of these sailed with a sufficient fleet from Carthage, and cast anchor at Constantinople, opposite the very windows of the palace, the lofty masts of his vessels being adorned with a miraculous image of Christ and the symbols of the Mother of God. Public indignation required no more. Phocas found himself at once forsaken by his guards, his court, and his subjects; stript of his imperial ornaments, and loaded with chains, he was seized and transported in a small boat to the galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with the enormities of his reign. "*Wilt thou govern better?*" were the last words of the fallen despot, as his head was severed from his body, and the latter cast, a

mangled trunk, into the flames. Heraclius answered the taunt with tolerable fairness, by administering the affairs of the East for thirty-one years, and establishing his dynasty for a century. It exhibited the usual vices of the Greek emperors: secret or open heresy,—interference with the Church, and, at times, bitter persecution of its members,—tragedies fearful to contemplate,—and chequered scenes of domestic crime or foreign humiliation. The best prince of the family was perhaps its founder. Chosroes, the king of Persia, whom Maurice had restored to his throne, overran Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor; and together with the dreadful Avars, in A.D. 626, his troops beleaguered the city of Constantine. The Chagan had there assembled 80,000 of his native followers, beside the vassal tribes of the Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Sclavonians. Mechanical science alone saved the capital; and the monarch of Ctesiphon had already uttered an expectation that the Roman emperor was to be presented in fetters before him. He had himself just then gained the pinnacle of prosperity; and sitting in the seat of Cyrus, amidst the barbaric splendours of embroidered hangings, silver columns, golden lamps, and pillars of porphyry, his pride was startled by an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of the Almighty. He rejected the missive with indignation, and tore it in fragments on the spot: "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian fanatic, "that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplication of Chosroes!" Before many years the male line of the Sassanides was extinct, and the dominions of Heraclius had contracted through the invincible advances of the Crescent.

However, his three expeditions against Persia, A.D. 622-8, once again illuminated with glory the Roman name. He defeated in every direction the armies of Chosroes, and not only won back the entire realms that had been lost, but carried his triumphant eagles to Ctesiphon, Casbin, and Ispahan. The haughty despot of these cities and their dependencies was at length murdered by his son, with whom an honourable peace was concluded in March A.D. 628, restoring the ancient frontiers of the

two empires, and surrendering to Heraclius the True Cross, which had been borne away from Jerusalem in the recent invasion of Palestine. Its restitution to the Holy Sepulchre was the grand feature of an imperial pilgrimage, which the emperor performed in person the following year,—an august ceremony still commemorated by an annual festival of the Church. His character subsided after these events to its ordinary level. Before his decease, he ventured to meddle with controversial theology; and, at an earlier period, his second marriage, with his niece Martina, had disgusted both the clergy and the people. The Saracens soon deprived him of the eastern provinces, snatched for so transient an interval from the grasp of Persia, to pass with that oriental kingdom itself beneath the yoke of the conquering Caliphs. His eldest son, Constantine III., succeeded him in February A.D. 641; on whose death, within little more than a hundred days, the diadem descended to Constans the Second, as eldest survivor of the third generation. This young emperor, only twelve years old at his accession, grew up with religion and humility on his lips, and the venom of a viper in his heart. His grand apprehension was lest his younger brother Theodosius should envy him his undivided throne, and invade the rights of primogeniture. To prevent it, he first forced him into the ecclesiastical state as a disqualification, and then poisoned him. Thunders of popular execration drove the fratricide into exile; but as he embarked on board his vessel, he spat at the walls of his metropolis, and meditated vengeance on mankind. From Athens he went to Rome, where, as a vehement Monothelite, he persecuted the Pope, St. Martin, and plundered the Seven Hills. All that Alaric or Genseric had ever attempted, the imperial schismatic seemed proud to imitate. For nearly a fortnight he sacked the city, despoiled the Pantheon of its costly roof, collected the choicest specimens of art that could be found, and threatening friend and foe,—the clergy whom he had robbed, and the Lombards, with whom he waged ineffectual war, he put to sea once more, with the purpose of inflicting similar depredations along the coasts of Sardinia, Calabria, and Sicily. When off the

latter island, an Arabian squadron fell in with his fleet, captured his priceless treasures, and carried them into Alexandria. They were never heard of afterwards: and thus perished, in the opinion of some learned antiquaries, more monuments of ancient sculpture and painting than the moderns have been ever able to discover since that catastrophe. But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself: the remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, ever presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "*Drink, brother, drink!*" a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon, a son of his own mother, the mystic cup of the Blood of Christ! Odious to himself and the whole world, Constans died at Syracuse, through a servant striking him on the head in a bath with the vase out of which was poured the hot water, September, A.D. 668. His eldest son, Constantine IV., styled Pogonatus, assumed the reins of government, and died after an administration of seventeen years, in A.D. 685. He suppressed an usurper in Sicily; opposed to the best of his power the victorious Moslem in Africa; and defended Constantinople against their attacks for seven successive summers. The famous Greek fire, together with a seasonable diversion on the part of the Mardaites, some auxiliaries originally from Armenia, contributed towards a prosperous result. He was also orthodox in his religious creed; and under his auspices the sixth Œcumenical Council assembled, A.D. 680-1, which condemned Monothelitism, affirming the only true Catholic doctrine, that two wills or energies are harmonised in Jesus Christ. He sent the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, to be offered on the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the Pope. The elder of these princes alone ascended, and disgraced the throne to which he was unhappily born. His cruelties brought about his banishment, after a disastrous interval of ten years, in A.D. 695; and for another interval of the same duration a couple of pretenders, Leontius and Apsimar, wore the purple and exceeded his crimes, A.D.

695-705. Personal mutilation seemed the order of the day; since the exiled emperor himself solicited aid from the Chozars and Bulgarians without his nose and with but half a tongue. When political changes, as he fancied, had effected his restoration, a violent storm assaulted the vessel in which he was returning home, and an attendant suggested that a vow of general forgiveness might prove acceptable to heaven amidst such fearful perils and on so peculiar an occasion. "What—speak to me of forgiveness!" exclaimed the vindictive Justinian; "may I expire this instant,—may the Almighty overwhelm me in the waves,—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" His recovery of the diadem was indeed postponed; but he survived the menace, and lived to execute it. Capturing both his rivals, he laid them upon the earth in heavy irons during the chariot-races of the circus; whilst, standing for above an hour with a foot planted on each of their necks, he listened to the multitudes shouting his own suggestion,* "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and the lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet!" For the six years of his second reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty. His grand favourite was an inhuman apparitor, Stephen, surnamed appropriately "the Savage." When even this man pleaded for a few of the Chersonites, who had insulted his master in exile, the answer was: "All are guilty, and all must perish!" Seven of the principal citizens were roasted alive, and twenty drowned in the billows: no words could adequately describe the hideousness of this Byzantine Caligula. At length his assassination, in the winter of A.D. 711, not long before Christmas, made way for his successors, Bardanes Philippicus, A.D. 711; Anastasius II., A.D. 713; and Theodosius III., A.D. 716; all strangers to the race of Heraclius, which was extinguished in the blood of the youthful offspring of Justinian, soon after the popular fury had sacrificed to its just resentment that imperial murderer.

* Super *aspidem* et basiliscum ambulabis: et conculcabis *leonem* et draconem. *Psalm* xc. 13. It was an allusion, not very accurately made, to their names, Apsimar and Leontius.

The next dynasty was that of the Isaurians, commencing with Leo III. on the 25th of March A.D. 718. In his origin he was no more than a rural huckster, and afterwards a grazier. The family name, as already mentioned, was Conon; and it is said that some Jewish fortune-tellers had promised him the Roman Empire, on his road to a country fair or market, if he would but abolish the worship of idols. The perverseness of his subsequent iconoclasm, as well as that of the majority of his line, seems neither more nor less than an anticipation of the madness of later ages. From the military service of the guards he rose, as only orientals do, to the gilded perils and responsibilities of absolute power. A firm administration during twenty-four years manifested no inconsiderable talents, which, unhappily, his evil genius prompted him to employ against the Church of God. The longer reign of his son Constantine V., called also Copronymus, lasted from the 18th of June, A.D. 741, to the 14th of September, A.D. 775. The pollution of his baptismal font as an infant, whence his surname is derived, might have been accidental; but it was a bad omen, and made an indelible impression upon posterity, after the life of the adult had developed such unfortunate analogy with its initial sign. His history forms a series of iniquities too vile and abominable for enumeration; yet it seems only the natural harvest of heresy; false principles blending with despotic authority, and corrupting through external circumstances into the foulest practices. His father had been an avowed enemy of sacred images,—of those holy representations and instructive symbols which the Church sanctions, not as a means of putting the type in the place of the sacred objects typified, but for the edification of her children, and for leading them into the love of God and His Saints. Human reason and haughty policy revolted from devotion so simple, and from an obedience to spiritual authority; deservedly was the entire empire shaken from the east to the west. Imperial persecution raged in every quarter; provinces were lost for ever; the Papal throne rose in its secular as well as its ecclesiastical form majestically over its troubled waters. Copronymus went beyond his sire in the

enormity of his wickedness, and casting away religion at length altogether, from bad to worse his mind precipitated itself headlong into utter unbelief, so as to work all uncleanness with greediness. Bishops, monks, generals, patricians, magistrates, suffered patiently for their Catholic faith. His military exertions against the Caliphs, at this period not a little distracted through the contest between the Ommiades and Abbassides, had various fortune,—now and then prosperous, yet perhaps oftener adverse. The same may be said with respect to the Bulgarians in Thrace and along the Danube; but in a civil contest at the beginning of his government, when those opposed to his heretical innovations had endeavoured to support a rival, his superiority became too perfectly established. The domestic struggle, however, inflamed his cruelty beyond endurable bounds. Constantinople would never have borne what it did, had it not been for the schisms and factions which had eaten into the core of the state. Leo IV. succeeded in A.D. 775, principally to settle the succession; for he was weak both in mind and body. His infant child by the celebrated Empress Irene, was crowned together with its mother; the latter of whom, on the death of her consort in A.D. 780, discharged the duties of a faithful ruler, in her own name and that of Constantine VI. Her genuine zeal for orthodoxy might have enshrined her virtues as they then appeared,—for Charlemagne himself is said by some to have thought of demanding her hand in marriage; but she soon sullied all these fair promises by cruelty and ambition most unnatural. Her subsequent crimes led to the entire suppression of the Isaurian lineage: the heretical iconoclasts, however, again triumphed, and the banished empress, in the isle of Lestos, terminated her miserable life amidst poverty and despair.

The fact was, that notwithstanding every effort made in the orthodox direction, the Greek patriarchs sank more and more into a base dependence upon the court, connected with the growth of worldliness and error, and leading irresistibly to that unhappy separation from the sole centre of unity, which reminds us, as already mentioned, under a former dispensation of the secession of the ten tribes of

Israel from the theocracy at Jerusalem. Nicephorus I. usurped the purple, 31st of October A.D. 802; and in July A.D. 811 transmitted it to his heir Stauricius, who from a field of battle with the Bulgarians had escaped with a severe wound, which proved mortal before the end of the year. Michael I., another successful usurper, then snatched at and wore the coveted robe of power for a brief interval, from the 11th of October, A.D. 811, to the 11th of July, A.D. 813; but experiencing its perils and solicitudes, he was soon too happy to resign it without bloodshed, and escape to the seclusion of a cloister, where he enjoyed for thirty-two years the comforts of religion. Leo V., commonly called the Armenian, a furious iconoclast, began his reign on the abdication of his predecessor, and was followed by Michael the Phrygian, on Christmas Eve A.D. 820. This latter aspirant had rebelled against Leo, and fallen into his hands; nor was it his first offence. Michael, thus convicted of reiterated treason, received a sentence that he should be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The Empress Theophano pleaded that the sacred anniversary of the Incarnation would be profaned by such an inhuman execution; and thereby procured a respite, most fatal as it turned out to the secular grandeur of her husband and family. During the midnight solemnities of the festival, a revolution dethroned the Armenian, assassinated him in the choir of the sanctuary, and elevated the Phrygian, under the title of Michael II.,—also styled the Stammerer, from an impediment in his speech,—from his fiery destination to the imperial chair of Constantinople. He established the Amorian dynasty, so termed from Amorium, the birthplace of his ancestors, and his son Theophilus ascended the throne the 3d of October, A.D. 829. Both these emperors were zealous in heresy and war, and each reaped as he had sown: the Saracens of Spain deprived them of Crete; the Aglabites of Cairwan rent Sicily from their feeble sceptre. When Theophilus wished to select a consort, the beauties of the capital had to range themselves in double rows, through which he walked up and down with a golden apple in his hand, the presentation of which to any one of the ladies

denoted the object of his choice. He fixed finally on Theodora, a very lovely and virtuous virgin, whose modest silence had attracted him, and who was no less famous for her orthodox piety than for her personal charms. She became mother of Michael III., who succeeded his father the 20th of January, A.D. 842, and to whom she was left guardian, since he was but in the fifth year of his age. Immediately the fury of the iconoclastic persecution was assuaged; and for thirteen years her mildness, mingled with profound prudence, restored order to the finances and a semblance of peace to the metropolis. Finding by this time that her influence could no longer be serviceable to the state, and that her superintendence and counsels had clearly become irksome, she withdrew into retirement, to assist the young emperor by her prayers. But the son of Theodora had fallen amongst evil companions; and flattery and licentiousness, pomp and prodigality, acted as so many syrens, alluring their victim to his perdition. Heresy opened wide the floodgates of atheism; while three successive patriarchs, for seven-and-twenty years, had disgraced the See where St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nazianzum had once illustrated the glories of Christianity. Michael insulted every object of public veneration; one of his buffoons was invested with the episcopal vestments; devoted to the sports of the circus, he received his theatrical garlands from the statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

A more worthy representative of departed saints at length presided over the Byzantine Church, in the person of Ignatius, who boldly rebuked his impious sovereign, and excommunicated Bardas, the prime originator of innumerable blasphemies. The emperor deposed him for his fidelity, A.D. 858, substituting in his stead the more courtly Photius. The Pope, St. Nicholas the Great, protected Ignatius, and anathematized the intruder, A.D. 864,—defying as the latter did the authority of St. Peter, and denying the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. Hence, as is well known, arose the Greek schism, pregnant with the pride and misery of many centuries. Michael espoused the vile cause of his favourite prelate, setting no limits to his iniquity; he and his parasites rode on asses through

the city in the habits of bishops, amidst shouts and obscene gestures,—the multitudes around them reviling the most solemn mysteries. Laying aside at night their ecclesiastical masquerade, they dared to use the consecrated vessels of the altar in their bacchanalian feasts, pretending to administer communion in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. After some such scene of intoxication and riot, in the thirtieth year of his age, this degenerate son of a pious mother was slain in his sleep during the night of Michaelmas Day, A.D. 867, by the founder of a new dynasty, his colleague, Basil the Macedonian.

This prince is said to have derived his genealogy from the ancient race of the Arsacides; his father, however, had been reduced to the cultivation of a small farm for subsistence, and an incursion of the Bulgarians had apparently ruined the family for ever. Escaping from slavery with difficulty, on the first night of his arrival at Constantinople he slept on the steps of a church beneath the open sky, having neither friends to receive nor money to support him: the casual hospitality of a religious thus saved his life, and the favour of a charitable matron subsequently advanced his fortunes in the Peloponnesus. After purchasing considerable property in Macedonia, his wonderful strength and agility augmented his fame, and ultimately procured for him an honourable situation in the imperial stables. Bardas, the uncle of Michael, and a patron of Photius, had been suffered to govern in the name of his worthless nephew (for he was brother to the excellent Theodora); nor was the title of Cæsar, which he had long assumed, an empty sound. But the emperor hated his regent, suggested and accomplished his murder, elevated Basil into the vacant post of power within a month afterwards; and was about to repeat his bloody experiment of caprice by removing this second coadjutor in the empire, had not Basil anticipated his design. The latter ruled the provinces he had seized with talents worthy of a more legitimate claim, and Ignatius was restored to his ecclesiastical prerogatives; yet so wily were the arts of his learned competitor, that when death removed to a better world the rightful patriarch, Photius once more emerged from his monastery and was reinstated.

He was even intrusted with the education of the heir to the throne; for the new sovereign aspired to be a friend to literature, and had become dazzled with the erudition of the heresiarch. Basil turned his entire attention to the cares of state; order revived under his cautious administration; the finances again flourished, so soon as an equilibrium had been secured between the receipts and disbursements; and he instituted that code of jurisprudence which, under the name of the Basilics, expanded into sixty books. His abilities found ample employment both in peace and war; and the Roman standards no longer receded before the Saracens. His buildings embellished the capital, as well as many other cities; roads were constructed, aqueducts and hospitals repaired, fresh monasteries and convents founded, and at least one hundred magnificent churches raised for the worship of Almighty God. The lady who had helped him to rise, when in Greece he gratefully accepted her assistance, now resided at Patras, and had legally adopted him for her son;—hearing with delight of his advancement, she resolved to pay him a visit. This visit affords us an idea of the times. Her journey of five hundred miles, to Constantinople, was performed in a litter or soft bed of down, carried on the shoulders of ten slaves at once; two hundred and ninety more being in attendance to relieve the bearers at easy distances. The presents of Danielis,—for so she was called,—comprised two hundred youths, one hundred eunuchs, and the richest silk, linen, and woollen manufactures of the Peloponnesus. Her serfs were numbered by thousands; through her will, after discharging all legacies, eighty large landed estates augmented the imperial domains. The emperor received and entertained her with filial reverence; appearing, it must be admitted, to much greater advantage in remembering benefits than in forgiving injuries. The rebel Chrysocheir had long eluded pursuit; whilst his sovereign felt provoked to pray that he might have the pleasure of driving three arrows into the brain of such an audacious traitor. His wretched desire was gratified; the culprit when caught was decapitated: the trunk was dishonoured, and its head suspended to a tree; nor could the conqueror, one of the most dexterous

archers of his day, be induced to forego the unworthy realisation of his vengeance. No one, after this, will wonder at an incident connected with the conclusion of his prosperous career in March A.D. 886. During the chase a furious stag had entangled its horns in the belt of Basil, and lifted him from off his horse; an over-zealous attendant rescued him by drawing his sword, severing the girdle, and slaying the animal: his reward was an immediate execution, for presuming to aim a naked weapon against the person of his august master, although it was to save his life: such was the etiquette of despotism. Either the fall or a consequent fever terminated the reign of Basil I.; who was followed by his son Leo VI., the Philosopher, remarkable for little beyond his marrying four times, and obtaining through his last consort Zoe, Constantine VII., usually styled Porphyrogenitus.

On the demise of his father, A.D. 911, and in the seventh year of his age, this infant prince and his mother were proclaimed sovereigns over the Basilian inheritance. But a female arm being found too feeble to restrain the efforts of ambition, Romanus Lacopenus acquired the supreme authority A.D. 920-944, and shared the augustal honours with his three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VIII., allowing however the lawful emperor the fifth place in this curious college of autocrats. Constantine VII. meanwhile devoted himself to literary studies; nor was it until the death of the great statesman who had eclipsed his hereditary rights, that, the family of that usurper being set aside, Porphyrogenitus at last, in A.D. 944, obtained undisturbed possession of the whole eastern empire. He survived for fifteen years, by no means disengaged from occupations better suited to a study than a palace; whilst his empress Helen mismanaged public affairs, one vile minister after another contending for her smiles and favours. Poison was supposed to have terminated the life and nominal administration of her husband, on the 15th of November, A.D. 959, who at one time, during the encroachments of his overbearing colleagues, had been reduced so low in circumstances, as to eke out a scanty allowance by the sale of a few pictures. His books and music, with the produc-

tions of his pen and pencil, thus proved the real consolers of an existence to which a diadem was not less a disgrace than it seemed a burden. His son Romanus II. was twenty years old when he received the purple, as it was suspected, through the complicity of parricide, in so far as he might have acquiesced in the murderous ambition of his partner. Personal strength, and beauty of form and countenance, appear to have been his chief characteristics; after wasting a morning in the circus, and feasting his senators at mid-day, he would proceed to hunt and destroy four wild-boars in a single afternoon. He was tall and straight as a young cypress, with a complexion fair and florid, brilliant eyes, broad shoulders, and a long aquiline nose. The wicked woman whom he had married became an instrument of the vengeance of heaven; her name was Theophano: one crime led on to another; and after an inglorious reign of four years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father, A.D. 963. Attempting to imitate Irene and Theodora, as the guardian of her four children, two sons and two daughters, the infamous possession of her charms was bestowed upon Nicephorus Phocas, who had recovered Crete from the Saracens, and obtained victories through his generals against the Bowides in Syria and Lesser Asia. His administration of the government on such guilty terms ended, after a period of six years, in the renewal of domestic infernalism; the assassination of her paramour by a conspiracy of her own contrivance, since he was ugly, old, and avaricious (25th December, A.D. 969), enabled her, as she imagined, to substitute an Armenian hero, John Zimisces, in his place. Too glad, as the young, handsome, and gallant conspirator was, to make the caresses of Theophano a flowery road to the throne, he despised and punished her when he had achieved his purpose. His struggle with the Russians perhaps preserved Byzantine domination from premature destruction, and certainly exalted the fame of many an exploit; but some eunuchs at court had taken offence at his reproaches; nor was his death altogether free from the charge of violence, when it occurred, amidst general regret and even lamentation, in January,

A.D. 976. Basil II., and his brother Constantine IX., the two sons of the second Romanus, having attained the age of manhood, then asserted and established their sway. The elder prince undertook the responsibilities, leaving to his fraternal colleague the pomps and pleasures of a sceptre. Their sanguinary and adulterous mother unhappily reappeared upon the scene; but Basil had the spirit of his ancestor and namesake. He grasped the helm with an amount of valour and ability, such as astonished his contemporaries; civil and provincial tempests subsided into unwonted calm; even the maternal fiend was allayed, and finally forced back into helplessness. The kingdom of Bulgaria, from the mouths of the Danube to the borders of the old Epirus, went to pieces through his energetic campaigns; stained although they were with robbery and cruelty. From the royal palace at Lychnidus he carried off ten thousand pounds weight in gold, and fifteen thousand captives were deprived of their sight, with the exception of one to each hundred, to whom a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. That monarch is said to have expired, as well he might, of grief and horror; the nation was overwhelmed by so terrible a catastrophe, and their future limits were circumscribed within a narrow territory still bearing their name. His reign of fifty years manifested some of the most important triumphs of the Roman arms since the days of Belisarius; his earnest desire was to do penance for the sins and indulgences of his youth. In the palace and the camp he wore a monastic habit under his robes or armour; he observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites perpetual abstinence from flesh and wine. He expired A.D. 1025. His brother survived him three years; losing again to the Arabs almost all that Basil had won back, except the city of Antioch. His daughters, from A.D. 1028, kept in feeble existence the Macedonian line for twenty-eight or twenty-nine years longer through Zoe, the second of them, first marrying Romanus III., called Argyrus; then Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, A.D. 1034; and lastly, adopting for her nominal son Michael V., styled Calaphates, A.D. 1041; on whose indignant re

moval in April, A.D. 1042, she, with her younger sister Theodora, sat side by side on the imperial throne for a brief interval. Such a union could not last; for the former had long lost every vestige of tenderness or purity. Zoe had poisoned her earliest consort, and put out the eyes of her adopted heir; at the age of sixty, she shocked the Greeks themselves by her third nuptials with Constantine X., surnamed Monomachus, who lived to perform the obsequies of his abandoned partner and patroness; until at length, by his decease, in November, A.D. 1054, Theodora remained the sole lineal or direct representative of the Basilian dynasty. With her it ceased to rule at Constantinople in August, A.D. 1056.

The real direction of public affairs had long fallen under the influence of certain eunuchs, four of whom persuaded their mistress to nominate for her successor a military stranger to her family, Michael VI., Stratioticus. His abdication in little more than a twelvemonth, made way for the illustrious Comnenian emperors. Isaac Comnenus ascended the throne, A.D. 1057; yet, finding his health and vigour decline beneath the burdens of his station, he entreated his brother John to relieve him; which, strange to say, the latter refused to do, although his five sons might so well expect to become then, as some of them did subsequently, pillars of an hereditary succession. Isaac, nevertheless, resigned, and in the monastic habit of St. Basil recovered his strength; he died about two years after his voluntary withdrawment from the purple. His friend Ducas, Constantine XI., had received it from his hands, A.D. 1059. The triple male offspring of this elected despot, assumed in childhood the titles of Michael VII., Andronicus I., and Constantine XII: their sire expired in his palace, May, A.D. 1067; some months after which event his widow Eudocia married Romanus Diogenes, a noble soldier, announced to the provinces as a colleague with his consort in the diadem and guardian of her children, under the title of Romanus III. His abilities might be great, but they failed in defending the frontiers; he incurred both defeat and captivity, through the arms of Alp Arslan and the Seljukian Turks; and only escaped

from disgrace abroad to meet with treason and disaster at home. His assassination was in August, A.D. 1071. The seventh Michael then attempted to govern. Virtuous in morals but weak in mind, his surname of Parapinaces alludes to a reproach which he shared with an avaricious minion, who enhanced the price and diminished the measure of bread-corn. On the Festival of the Annunciation, A.D. 1078, Michael gladly surrendered the imperial ensigns to a fortunate general, Nicephorus III., Botaniates; accepting in their stead the sackcloth of a monk, and the Archbishopric of Ephesus. His daughter formed an alliance with the Comnenian family, to whom Nicephorus Botaniates, and the other phantoms of sovereignty, conceded their pretensions in April, A.D. 1081, when Alexius Comnenus began his reign. He was the third son of John, the brother of Isaac, the first founder of the dynasty; and the father of Anna Comnena, whose filial and partial pages affectionately record his achievements. His administration of thirty-seven years afforded an era of comparative stability to the empire, which it had seldom more urgently required. On the eastern quarters were the Seljukian Moslem advancing with rapid fortunes; in the west, Robert Guiscard, with his valiant Normans, pushed forward their ambitious enterprises against Durazzo; where, on the 18th of October, only six months after his accession, the Byzantine monarch, having fought like a lion at bay, had to escape on his fleetest horse, with a shivered helmet and sullied laurels; in the north, a lowering cloud of Russians overhung the political horizon; nor could he hear without anxiety, as seasons rolled on, the incipient murmur of the Crusades. He undoubtedly proved himself a very jackall of statecraft, with respect to the first of these mighty expeditions, for in forwarding the soldiers of the Cross to their destination, he fleeced them to the uttermost on the road; cautiously watching their footsteps, and gathering up every golden result of their victories. All his conquests bear the stain of inherent selfishness; thus sadly demonstrating the heretical and worldly deterioration of Greek Christianity. Not that the emperor professed himself otherwise than orthodox; but the entire

cast and character of his people and policy had contracted a taint at once indelible and miserable; an absence of general honesty and truthfulness appears throughout each department, each treaty, each civil measure, each campaign; orientalism had got thoroughly engrafted on schismatical pravity. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtue fell under no little suspicion towards the close of his life; and the Empress Irene, hearing him utter on his deathbed some pious ejaculations about the vanity of the world, reminded him with indecent indignation that he was dying as he had lived—a hypocrite! His son John, the handsome, so styled in irony from his diminutive hideousness, had incurred, perhaps on this account, the dislike of his mother, who would fain have postponed him in favour of her accomplished and celebrated daughter. Anna, as it appears, had no objection to furnish the materials of history, as well as compile them; her able brother, however, consigned her to the retirement, which he considered far more suitable to her sex than the labours of government. His activity repelled the Turks from the Bosphorus and Hellespont: the Sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital; for twenty-five years, A.D. 1118-1143, the troops kept their ground upon the imperial boundaries, whilst internally, the penalty of death is said to have been abolished throughout the provinces, and the theory of the court itself was chaste and modest, frugal and abstemious. An accident terminated his schemes; for he was contemplating the re-conquest of Syria, to the Euphrates and Tigris. His son and heir Manuel exhibited a singular contrast of energy and sloth; and chronicles seem at a loss whether to deprecate the excess of his hardiness or effeminacy. He ruled and revelled; he fought and feasted through as many summers and winters as his grandfather Alexius, A.D. 1143-1180. In one day, he is declared to have slain forty barbarians with his own sword; to have transpierced gigantic champions with his lance, or cut them asunder with a stroke; to have dragged four Turkish prisoners to the camp when fastened to the rings of his saddle; and to have performed marvels in defending the poop of a galley with an enormous buckler and

a flowing sail. He could sleep in the sun or in the snow; he could weary the stoutest soldiers in the fatigues of a march, or waste the most precious hours in the paradise of an isle in the Propontis. We may probably estimate him as the Alcibiades of his age; with nobler fortunes, but greater responsibilities than the Athenian hero. His morals fell far short of purity. Pleasure, luxury, sensualism, adultery, incest, marked the descending scale of his vices; and in his grave were buried the glories of his race; although it continued to wear the purple, in some shape or other, for several generations. His only male heir, Alexius II., was but twelve or thirteen years old when placed on the throne, the 24th of September, A.D. 1180, which a further brief period transferred to Andronicus Comnenus, cousin of the late Manuel, and grandson of the first Alexius. Appointed guardian to his young kinsman, he had him cruelly strangled with a bowstring, in the month of October, A.D. 1183.

The adventures of this monster in human shape form as romantic a tragedy as can well be discovered in modern history. In his career from childhood to anility few could match him in mere corporeal vigour: temperance and exercise were his physician and surgeon; his frequent diet was bread and water; if he ever tasted a stag or wild boar, it must have been one he hunted first and then cooked with his own hand. Full of profaneness, he professed himself a pious puritan; eloquent in speech, flexible in address, he cherished in his heart seven devils, —in other words, the seven capital sins; which soon transformed his bosom into a nest of serpents. His cousin, the Emperor Manuel, had seduced his own niece; Andronicus imitated his example in ruining his sister. The latter followed him to the Cilician wars: his imperial relative openly rebuked and secretly favoured this impious companion of his pleasures; yet, as the union of partners in profligacy is never permanent, they soon came to hate and even execrate each other with an intensity truly diabolical. Falling at length into the clutches of justice— for having attempted and failed in the private murder of Manuel, he was imprisoned twelve years in a tower at

Constantinople, whence he twice escaped in a marvellous manner; as also a third time, when subsequently he was intercepted by a party of wandering Walachians. Extraordinary foreign services, in effecting a successful negotiation with the Russians against the Hungarians, obtained, after some considerable interval, his free pardon, and employment on the coasts of the Mediterranean. Here he fascinated, defiled, and forsook the beautiful Philippa of Poitou, aunt to the heir of Manuel; and pretending a pilgrimage to the holy shrines, went thither, and ingratiated himself with the most eminent crusaders. There the widow of Baldwin III. also became the victim of his vices; who, being by birth a Comnenian princess, once more aroused the wrath of the emperor through her shamelessness and exposure. Andronicus had to fly for his life; taking refuge at Damascus, Bagdad, and with the court of Persia, he contracted a friendship with the Sultans Noureddin and Saladin, and finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor. Excommunicated by the Church, he compared himself with the son of Jesse; as he did his style in writing to that of the apostle St. Paul. The prostituted Queen of Jerusalem bore him two children; and when separated from them, as the governor of Trebizond had got them into his power and sent them to the Byzantine monarch, the fugitive followed them thither, to obtain another full and free forgiveness from his rival. Such singular audacity at least overawed Manuel. Andronicus threw himself at his feet, deploring with tears and groans the bitterness of his crimes and past rebellions; nor would he rise from the earth until some faithful official had dragged him several yards on the ground by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This penance reconciled him with both the ecclesiastical and civil authority. Through all kinds of hypocrisy and iniquity he wormed himself upwards to the throne; opposition quailed before him; Scriptures the most apposite flowed from his tongue; trains of subtlety the most exquisite and ingenious undermined or removed every obstacle. Meanwhile, Manuel paid the debt of nature; and the general voice summoned Andronicus to the metro-

polis. His march thither only appeared to the multitudes as that of a martyr to conscientious scruples: on his arrival he secured the palace, restored order and tranquillity, visited his unsuspecting ward, committed his mother to custody, prepared for their speedy extinction, and then approached the recently-closed sepulchre, where the remains of Manuel had been laid. Stooping or kneeling over the awful corpse, he thus gave utterance to the murmurs of triumph and revenge: "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from whence thou canst never arise, until the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn; and presently will I trample upon thy ashes and thy posterity." He kept his dreadful word. At the coronation of Alexius, his guardian, holding aloft the Blessed Sacrament, avowed everlasting fidelity to his beloved pupil, whom he soon assassinated, as above mentioned,—having first bow-strung the empress herself. The innocent body of Alexius he kicked as it lay, exclaiming with inhuman accents: "Thy father was a knave, thy mother a harlot, and thyself a fool!" His government was a hideous series of butchery and abominations; one week, during which no blood had been shed, received the appellation of the halcyon days. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, at last relieved the empire and the world: from the sanctuary of St. Sophia, to which he had fled for his own safety, an indignant revolution conducted and elevated him to the supreme power. The late tyrant—for his power expired the moment a leader could be selected—was simply delivered in fetters to the vengeance of the capital. Excited thousands rushed upon him; his teeth and hair, his eyes and limbs, became the wretched satisfaction of their rage; rescued from a furious mob only that he might drink to the dregs the bitterness of death, he was placed astride upon a camel, amidst blows and outrages. Executioners at last suspended him by his two feet, between a couple of pillars supporting a wolf and a sow, as emblems of his ferocity and moral filthiness; in a long and painful agony,

"Lord, have mercy on me! why wilt Thou bruise a broken reed?" were the solitary expressions that escaped from his lips. Two friendly Italians finally plunged their weapons in his body; and thus finished his mortal sufferings, the 12th of September, A.D. 1185. Isaac Angelus then swayed the Byzantine sceptre for ten years; but in A.D. 1203-1204 the discord between himself and his brother, Alexius III., who had dethroned and blinded him eight years before, introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople; for even Manuel Comnenus had excited the enmity of Venice, and rashly plucked the beard of her potent and reverend seigniors. We may just take a parting glance at the eastern relics of Rome in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

The inheritance of Arcadius and Justinian had fearfully dwindled; its subdivisions came to be called themes instead of provinces, and were twenty-nine in number,—twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia. After the Saracens had appropriated a moiety of the oriental territories; when the Morabeths had made Morocco their own, as the disciples of the new prophet Abdallah, A.D. 1056-1069; whilst the caliphs, or rather their lieutenants, were consolidating their settlements in Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; or later still, when Norman adventurers and the Seljukian Turks were lopping off branch after branch from the ancient tree,—the Macedonian or Basilian emperors had reigned from the south of Italy to the borders of Mesopotamia; and the Comnenian emperors continued to reign over Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Egean Sea, and large fragments of Anatolia, from Belgrade and the Danube to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. Candia changed masters, like Sicily and Calabria, several times amidst the general confusion. Yet it will be perceived that even the wreck of Roman grandeur was still extensive; that the noblest cities and most fertile countries were included within its limits; that provinces adhering to the empire would be probably enriched by the misfortunes of those irrecoverably lost; just as Constantinople is known to have acquired the fugitive trade and commerce of Alex-

andria and Tyre. The Peloponnesus could boast of no less than forty populous towns, full of wealth, manufactures, mansions, churches, and monasteries; the silks, woollens, and linens exhibited matchless patterns of artistic ingenuity and texture,—so much so, that a single entire piece of the last could be rolled up into a hollow cane. Scarlet and green were the favourite colours of the loom: and we hear of the spots of a peacock's tail being worked all over a carpet large enough for the floor of a church. Embroidery was raised in silk or gold; expanded into stripes and flowers, or adorned with pearls or gems. The revenues of Constantinople alone were several millions sterling; and the Crusaders were perfectly dazzled with its magnificence. Theodora reminded her son Michael, that he had inherited 109,000 lbs. of solid gold, and 300,000 lbs. of solid silver,—the mere fruits of parental economy. Basil II. could pay and reward his victorious armies, without breaking into 8,000,000*l.* sterling of coin and ingots, which lay buried in the vaults of his palace. The pomp, parade, and luxury of the Byzantine court, appear during these ages to have been almost boundless; patricians seem to have enjoyed and expended vast fortunes on their palaces, villas, gardens, baths, porticos, aqueducts, plate, furniture, and jewels. The Emperor Theophilus surpassed perhaps his predecessors in the splendours of his imperial residence, which could boast of enormous extent, with gilded domes, apartments lined with porphyry and variegated marbles, columns of Italian sculpture, a throne like that of Solomon, besides ornamented halls, corridors, and staircases. Its greatest curiosity was a golden tree, which sheltered a multitude of birds, warbling their artificial notes; with two lions of massive gold, and of their natural size, which glared and roared like their originals in the forest. An intelligent reader will scarcely fail to observe the childishness thus blended with barbaric and oriental ostentation. The same ideas must arise when we listen to the sonorous honours and titles of the sovereign and the members of his family, and the officials of his household; or when we survey the gorgeous vestments, the red buskins, and the diadem peculiar to the emperor; the variety of robes and

coronets, the grand officers of state, and the pageantry of the entire ceremonial. It must be remembered, that it was all a passing vision of corruption and decay; the glittering shadow of power that had departed, the mockery of real greatness, the spectre of retribution to come, decorated with gory garlands. Magnificence is alone genuine and tolerable, when it is a natural halo and irradiation of that which is real and substantial. Processions and acclamations, the proud reception of ambassadors, guards in burnished bucklers and showy uniforms, misled the minds of the metropolis, and maintained that painted mask which covered and concealed the face of public misery. The army depended for its strength upon foreign levies, the navy upon its machines and the well-tested efficacy of the Greek fire; the former comprised a certain number of regiments or bands, as they were termed, usually about three hundred strong; their infantry drawn up for an onset in ranks of eight men deep, whilst the cavalry charged with but four. Armour was still worn, but not put on until just prior to an engagement, being carried for that purpose into the field on light chariots or wagons; swords, spears, and single or double-headed axes constituted their principal weapons of offence. With regard to maritime warfare, a squadron of galleys still advanced, as in the time of Thucydides, in the shape of a crescent, rushed to the front, and strove to impel their beaks against the feebler sides of an antagonist. Courage and loyalty, however, could not but have declined where the breath of freedom had no existence, and where emperors violated the solemn oath always taken at their coronation, that they would obey the decrees of the Seven Synods and the Canons of the Church of God.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. [illegible]

THE SARACENS, EGYPTIAN, SYRIANS, AND BYZANTINES—CONQUEST UNDER THE SAINT, MAHOMETAN, AND SELJUK EMPERORS—STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD—THE CRUSADES.

During the six hundred years which elapse between the reigns of Heraclius and Isaac Angelus, a great revolution in the military system took place throughout the civilized world. The Saracens, and those who had embraced their religion, were the first to make use of gunpowder with fire and force. The Eastern nations often vanquished, as in more ancient times, by numerous skill in their military tactics, as in the superiority manifested towards them by several bands of determined heroes, and the consummate prudence of those who well knowingly possessed to believe the former. From the Koran they learned to acquire a consciousness of their destination; and they not only learned to make use of the invention of mercenaries, which preceded among the earlier nations were introduced into Italy and France, and afterwards from these countries into Germany. They learned the art of combining the courage with the prudence of occidental powers partly arose from their own natural trade and commerce: the produce of Europe, Persia, and Barbary, consisted in [illegible] horses, camels, cotton, and rubies.—but not was gathered from a more original of Abyssinian culture. Other valuable articles are also enumerated, such as the precious and rare of every metal, ivory, arrows—steel, fine-grain, [illegible] knives, lances, and military cloaks, besides arms, coats, [illegible] and cuirasses for the horsemen and [illegible] for the [illegible] Fine [illegible] linens, silks, and [illegible] were manufactured at Mecca: these articles, long [illegible] and [illegible] from [illegible] Sea: with Chinese [illegible] goods, [illegible] every sort of female attire, and [illegible] from the interior, [illegible] from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, through the medium of caravans, passing daily from the valleys

of Mount Atlas, halting at Timbuctoo on the banks of the Niger; threading the deserts of Sahara from one watering-place to another, now buried in the sand, and then returning on their weary camels to homes which could alone be reached on those useful ships of the wilderness. Thus it was that Fez and Morocco and Spain, and the central regions of Africa, maintained their traffic with Ethiopia, Abyssinia, Nubia, Egypt, and the celebrated cities of Mecca and Medina, or Bagdad and Bussora; in addition to their extensive maritime intercommunication, so largely participated in, and latterly almost monopolised, by the Italian commercial republics. Before the sugar-cane had become well located in Sicily under the Normans, its sweet saccharine, together with honey, spikenard, pepper, and ginger, found its way into Europe from India; but, as already intimated in the last chapter, the loss of some imperial sea-ports and provinces to the Saracens augmented the opulence of those that still clung to their old faith and government, and Christian merchants often supplied the stibium which tinged the fair eyelids of oriental or southern harems, as well as the storax and odoriferous resins so agreeable to the merchants of Damascus. Meanwhile, however, the scymitar raged with fearful fury; wherever there were Catholics to spoil, there were infidels to invade; and as the Carlovingian period passed away, we find Pope John VIII. addressing Charles the Bald in these pathetic terms:

"How many and how great are the things we are suffering from the Saracens, why should I attempt with the pen to describe, when all the leaves of the forest, were they turned into tongues, would not suffice to narrate them? The blood of Christians is poured out like water; the people devoted to God are slaughtered. Captivity the most cruel, in perpetual exile, is the lot of such as escape the destruction of the sword or fire. Behold the cities, the walled towns, the country villages, bereft of inhabitants, have sunk into ruin; and their bishops, dispersed in flight, are no where sure of refuge but round the tombs of the apostles. Wild beasts usurp the sanctuaries, where stood the chair of doctrine; instead of bread

[illegible] the bread of life to their flocks, they are now allowed to beg their own. Behind, [illegible] the [illegible] hath turned to the sun: days have arrived in which we exclaim, blessed are the wombs that never brought forth! The ministers of the altars, the cause of [illegible], the mother of churches, the consolation of the afflicted, the harbour of refuge for all who are in distress or danger, the seat of the apostles,—yes, Rome,—are ruined and overwhelmed. In the year [illegible] we sowed, but did not reap in reason of the [illegible]: this year we cannot hope for harvests, since in mid-June we [illegible] all the ground." His Holiness then continues [illegible] pestilentious heresies, calling themselves Christians, were scarcely better: that, united with Jews and [illegible], they frequently sympathised with the enemy: and that the evil days of calamity had fallen upon the world. Lamentations just as great, and proceeding from the same motives, pervade and swell the [illegible] and [illegible] sentences. Wherever and whenever the true religion [illegible], there and there the universal [illegible] of public affairs for the time being [illegible]: the Popes were the [illegible] of peace, just so long as a wicked world would keep its hands from off the sacred ark of St. Peter. From [illegible] to Sembronius they were perpetually called upon to cast oil upon the troubled waters. Whilst a [illegible] patriarch could remind a Justinian [illegible] that "it was a sin in the same category with the [illegible] of Eutyches or the crimes of Acacius and Nestorius to [illegible] even the admonitions of a Roman pontiff."

These Emperors had a Senate, [illegible] and [illegible] by war or peace Imperial. Theodoric and the two Justinuses. Their succession was [illegible] or [illegible] and for [illegible] years, A.D. 641–715. The Byzantine court [illegible] their name and prowess. The Emperor Heraclius led an expedition against them, which terminated in its utter [illegible] and death, A.D. [illegible]. The imperial head was [illegible] exposed on a spear, was [illegible] of its hair and [illegible] ments; the skull was then [illegible] in gold, and [illegible] as capacious [illegible], on grand festivals, some successful [illegible] indulged a large [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible] victory.

Basil II. at length subdued the kingdom; of which the memorial yet remains in a fertile strip of territory between the Danube and the Balkan, from Servia to the Black Sea. The Russians first emerge from their historical obscurity no great while after the fate of Nicephorus had aroused his successors to watch more carefully than ever their foreign policy. Proceeding from the Euxine shores, and losing themselves in the forests of Scythia, they had fallen upon the Finnish tribes, and settled near the Lake Ladoga. The future cities of Kiow and Novogorod were then founded, probably as mere stations. Ruric, a Scandinavian chieftain, in A.D. 862, established his sway over them, through his own influence and that of his two heroic brothers: they soon gave laws to the Esthonians and Livonians; whilst their countryman, Ingulf, established in Iceland a republic governed by twelve lagmans, or judges, administering a curious code of laws called the Grey Goose; nor is it improbable that from the Geysers around Mount Hecla there was many an adventurer in those terrible fleets which inspired such terror at Constantinople. Four of these expeditions occurred under their respective dates of A.D. 865, 904, 941, and 1043; connected more or less with the traditionary prediction declared to have been secretly inscribed on a brazen equestrian statue, in the square of Taurus, that the Russians, in the latter days, would become masters of the Bosphorus. About thirty years, however, after the third naval invasion, the Grand Duke Swatislaus, who had been bribed to act against the Bulgarians by a second Nicephorus, received a total overthrow from his successor John Zimisces, A.D. 970-973. Yet it was the Christian religion which struck the electric spark awakening the fierce nations of the North to nobler aspirations: Olga, the consort and avenger of her husband, Igor, came to the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus for holy baptism, A.D. 955; her grandson imitated her example, and married a sister of the emperor, A.D. 988; when Peroun, the idol of thunder, whom the Muscovites had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow, and cast into the Borysthenes. The earliest Catholic princess established roads, erected

bridges, promoted communication between different and distant hordes, and facilitated the progress of civilisation. Camps and fairs on the banks of navigable rivers enabled them to collect such commodities as furs, wax, amber, and hydromel, which they exchanged for horses, silks, gold, and silver. Vladimir, the grandson of Olga, established schools, and reached the Caspian by means of the Volga; before his conversion he lived with 805 wives; slept in a bear's-skin beneath the open canopy of heaven, with his head on a saddle; fed upon broiled horse-flesh; used no utensils but those of wood or horn; and hated the Greek missionaries, who were then orthodox, and had been sanctioned by proper authority. Many of his people had, nevertheless, witnessed the splendours of St. Sophia; all were charmed with the sweet images of the Madonna and her Divine Infant; and the rumour ran, that 120 years before, when their rude ancestors first entered the Golden Harbour, a precious relic of the Mother of God was reverentially bathed in the Bosphorus, at the advice of the patriarch. The new faith even spread its blessed influences from Iceland to the remote Greenland, or Vinland, as it was then termed; for from Permia a regular market with these people was supported on the White Sea of the Polar regions. His son, Yaroslaf, was a legislator, composing his ordinances so as not to run counter to the prejudices of his subjects: as, for instance, when he enacted that whoever pulled a hair out of the beard of any man should undergo a punishment four times more severe than if he had cut off one of his fingers. No wonder that, in a later age, the imperial orders to shave so nearly effected a national revolution. The whole aspect of this vast empire appears more Asiatic than European; and it may well be compared to an enormous glacier, shelving down with its weight of snow towards the warmer climates of the Mediterranean. Yaroslaf also promoted both religion and literature; he encouraged translations from various Greek authors, and having intercourse with Rome, relations were attempted with both France and Italy. He gave his daughter, Anna, to the Capetian Henry I., to whose feudal crown the Normans were already so formidable.

Of the same kindred with those who founded the Russian states were the Harolds and Varangians of Norway. In the ninth century, ceasing to be satisfied with a tribute of hides, feathers, and cordage, which the Fins paid them for liberty to fish in their translucent fiords, many hardy inhabitants of the valleys or morasses at the foot of the Norwegian mountains embarked in their vessels of war, as the pirates, or corsairs, or sea-kings of the Baltic. Their native names were nearly as numerous as their ships; but the appellations of the Danes, the Vikingr, or, greatest of all, the Normans, have absorbed or superseded the others. The Saxon Heptarchy of England, united under one sovereign, failed in finding means sufficient for the protection of its shores. Their galleys frequently assailed and burnt Hamburg; they carried devastation up the Rhine, the Elbe, the Seine, and the Loire, into the very heart of France; nor did the anticipations of Charlemagne, who had foreseen, and indeed by his northern campaigns partly produced the evil, remain unrealised. One of their leaders, Rolf-Ganger, or Rollo, conquered all Neustria, and called it after the name of his followers, A.D. 912. Charles the Simple deemed himself fortunate that this chieftain seemed contented with his acquisition, which was to be held as a ducal fief from the French crown, by *par paragium*. The conquest of England by William at the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066, proved in the long lapse of generations more advantageous than otherwise to the House of Capet; for when the Duke of Normandy became a foreign potentate, the French nobles adhered more closely to their own monarch, from whom they had then less to fear. For two centuries before this important event, Italy ranked them in the triple list of her tormentors,—scarcely knowing whether she suffered most from the Arabs, the Hungarians, or the Normans. Her beautiful domains were the sport or spoil of all those robbers in their turn; so that the old Lombard chief of Beneventum, and the Catapan or viceroy of the Greek emperor over the broken fragments of Byzantine power in the peninsula, were glad to hire the northern seafarers, who were to be remunerated out of what they acquired. The foreigners fulfilled

their undertaking, and were then cheated of their wages. Such ingratitude reaped its natural reward; for the Normans, with little delay, proceeded to help and pay themselves. The Popes, too, at this crisis, plagued to death between the Greek and German Emperors, favoured the cause of justice and policy by affording their sanction to the new-comers. These last made a grateful return; rendering most material services to the Chair of St. Peter in many an hour of peril. Numerous bold spirits, from their fresh settlements along the Seine, crossed the Alps in the garb of pilgrims; bringing clear heads and strong swords to participate in the enterprises of their fellow-countrymen. Aversa was built for them by the Duke of Naples, A.D. 1029; twelve or thirteen years afterwards they made themselves masters of Apuglia, with its capital, Amalfi. Robert Guiscard, or the Wizard, with nine of his eleven brothers, distinguished themselves by their ambition and valour; turning their backs upon their paternal castle of Hauteville, near Coutances, and seeking their fortunes beyond the far mountains. The middle of the eleventh century witnessed their heroism and success. Each conquest became a fief held of Holy Church. Capua and Salerno illustrated the prowess and wisdom of Robert; the schools of the latter rising into immense fame for attainments in jurisprudence and medicine. Amalfi extended its trade to Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Sicily was acquired by Count Roger, the youngest brother of Guiscard, A.D. 1060-90, and one of those who had remained at home with their father Tancred; its princes were declared, by a singular bull, hereditary and perpetual legates to the Sacred See. In A.D. 1081, the aspirations of Robert prompted him, on the score of an imagined slight having been shown towards his daughter, who had been betrothed into the family of Constantine Ducas, to attack the eastern empire. Alexius Comnenus having gained the Byzantine sceptre, through setting aside his immediate predecessors, met the fiery Normans in the grand engagement of Durazzo, the 18th of October, A.D. 1081, and lost the victory. No great or important results ensued, any more than from a second expedition against Greece, three years later,

when Guiscard successfully encountered not merely the naval squadrons of Byzantium, but the floating castles of Venice (October, A.D. 1084). The courageous Duke of Apuglia died in the Island of Cephalonia on the 17th of the following July; and the oriental world, through its undisguised gladness at this event, attested the invincible valour of Robert the Norman.

While the Arabs were laying waste the southern coasts, and the Normans infesting all the western shores, a nomadic nation from the mountain plains between the Volga and the Don, strangers to the civilisation of Europe, pushed its pathway into the interior. These were the Hungarians, a branch of the Finnish race, which may be termed Uralian or Ugorian. They styled themselves Magyars or Madshares; their tents were of leather; they shaved their hair, and scarified their countenances. Their character and conduct presented impersonations of cruelty and perfidy; their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow, which they could use either on foot or horseback, and even vie with the ancient Parthians, in overwhelming their pursuers, with an unexpected cloud of arrows shot backwards. They could feast or fast as circumstances might allow; neither mercy nor pity ever enervated their bosoms, as they spread throughout Pannonia, from Vienna to Belgrade, on which country they have imposed their name; or extended the conflagrations of their horrible inroads into Italy, Bavaria, Swabia, or Franconia. Indeed the most northern districts of Germany, as well as Switzerland and Spain, in the ninth and tenth centuries shuddered beneath this new scourge. It was their custom to spare neither age nor sex; they always wasted whatever they could not carry away; towns and cities were reduced to heaps of smouldering ruins. They were heathens; and being possessed by the most diabolical fanaticism against religion, their greatest delight was in destroying monasteries, churches, and convents. The most vividly picturesque descriptions occur during those ages of the miseries they inflicted wherever they came; nor could any other alleviation be found than in their conversion to the Catholic Church. Scandinavia and Scythia became tamed

and refined, just so far and no farther than as the Christianity of Rome reached and subdued their rude natives. The latter, in course of time, fell into schism, even during the mediæval period; and suffered accordingly. The navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten; or if remembered, only led to that servitude and ignominy which, blended with oriental heresy from Byzantium to Egypt, threw open a floodgate to the Turks and Tartars. The former was reserved for analogous degradation and chastisement, in the later days of Luther and his colleagues. Meanwhile monks and missionaries emulated the labours of the apostles. They visited unceasingly the tents or huts of the fiercest savages. The Hungarians, wild as they were, at length listened to the voice of the charmer. They subsided into a settled location upon those fair and fertile plains embraced by the Carpathian mountains; and in the millennial year of the world, reckoning from the Incarnation, St. Stephen, their real reformer, received from Pope Sylvester II. the title of King of Hungary, with a diadem or crown of Greek workmanship. Long, however, before this felicitous change, the lineal Carlovingians had lost sight of Italy, and were deprived of the purple in Germany A.D. 912. The great nobles elected Conrad, a relation on the female side to the family of Charlemagne; who was succeeded by Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony. At the commencement of his reign, a tribute was paid the Hungarians; but he soon surrounded the hamlets of his subjects with walls and fosses from Thuringia to the Danube, and enacted that the tenth man of every village should remove into some adjacent fortified town. The royal courts were held there; a third part of the produce of the vicinity had to be stored within these, or similar asylums. Certain trades and professions were appropriated to the burgesses, by whom fiefs and honours were to be attainable: thus were the cities of the Germanic circles established. Fresh bishoprics were also formed on the Sclavonian borders; municipal corporations, and the authority of religion, together with the useful arts and sciences, could now once more obtain rest for the soles of their feet. The plans of Henry were laid with discretion, and executed

with vigour. Till the Hungarian truce had expired, and not a few solid bulwarks existed for the protection of his people, he merely kept his hand upon his sword; but when after that the invaders continued their demands, he met them manfully and defeated them. His son Otho achieved a still more important triumph; and, amidst several subsequent years of peace, agriculture began to re-appear and flourish. This personage in secular history is sometimes called the Great, since he subdued the kingdom of Italy, and for ever fixed the imperial crown of the Cæsars in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable era, A.D. 962, it came to be a maxim of general jurisprudence, that although the prince, elected in the German diet, acquired the subject kingdoms, with all their vague prerogatives, from the Elbe and Oder to the utmost limits of Lombardy, yet he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus until he received the diadem from the hands of the Roman Pontiff.

The Saxon emperors fancied themselves to have descended from Witikind, the grand warrior with whom Charlemagne had to contend in so many campaigns. The first Otho proved himself to be at all events equal to the demands made upon his talents by the exigencies of the times. Beyond the Alps he lowered the privileges of the nobles, by acting with the Church, and exempting certain important cities from secular jurisdiction. Between, however, his own personal pretensions, as respected the election of popes, the rival violences in the opposite direction of the Byzantine policy, the fearful confusions of the barons, the Saracens, and the rebellious Romans themselves, the bark of St. Peter had to encounter such storms of distress and perplexity, as would have sunk and destroyed a thousand times over any system that was not inherently of divine institution. The existence of occasional scandals, of a few prelates here and there unparalleled in their impiety and profligacy, correspond as facts with the admission of the son of perdition, at the very beginning, into the earliest apostolic college. Judas Iscariot formed a foreshadowing type and admonition, that there would arise in evil days, through the interference of the world and sin with the works of

Almighty God, personages like John XII. and Alexander VI. The former darkened and disgraced the tenth century: he conferred on the mighty Saxon the imperial investiture, and within twelve months of his coronation he was deposed by him. Fiercer contests than ever were soon engendered, as to whether the Popedom was to be the plaything of princes, or temporal monarchs to fall into their respective positions around the throne of the Pastor and President of Christendom. Otho II. succeeded his father, and reigned for ten years, A.D. 973-983; leaving an infant heir only three years old. The magnates of the empire had not yet rendered their offices and feudal possessions hereditary, but continued to be potent vassals; whilst the royal house still maintained considerable preponderance. Otho III. expired, without having been married, A.D. 1002; and his minority had favoured the designs of his successor Henry II., Duke of Bavaria, and great-grandson of Henry the Fowler. His administration, though chequered in its circumstances, conduced to the acquisition of Burgundy in the next generation; and dying in the odour of sanctity, A.D. 1024, without issue, his dynasty closed with him. Conrad the Salic, sprung from a connection of the imperial house, was unanimously elected in the room of his predecessor, and established the Franconian family in the purple for a hundred years. He caused his son to be elected during his life, who followed in this respect the example of his father. Their united abilities promoted the temporal prosperity of Germany. Conrad died A.D. 1039, Henry III. A.D. 1056; after degenerating, as it was thought, into a somewhat arbitrary line of policy in his latter years. Reaction naturally ensued; whilst the tender age of Henry IV., under the feminine government of his mother Agnes of Guienne, afforded but too favourable an opportunity for the growth and expansion of the great feudalities. The domainial estates of the emperors were chiefly on the Rhine; of which the Count Palatine, who managed them, ultimately secured the hereditary possession. An irregular income enriched the exchequer from imposts, and the right of coinage, besides a few extraordinary taxes dependent upon the goodwill of the diets. As

the higher nobles sought to hold their ground against the sovereign, so the lesser lords and knights struggled to emancipate themselves from the oppression of the princes. Division of property was nevertheless a common usage; so that the Germanic body broke up easily, in more modern times, into a vast congeries of larger or smaller states, united by the tie of merely constituting one confederacy using the same language. The progressive culture of lands, arts, and sciences, elevated in the social scale both husbandman and artificer, forming a new interest opposed to the nobility. This popular class exchanged its adherence to the monarchs, or the grand electors, as the case might be, for valuable immunities and privileges; its members flocked, moreover, into the cities for safety and commercial purposes; and several of these cities often formed alliances with one another: so that we see here the germs of much that happened afterwards. Swabia, Carinthia, and Bavaria, as well as other duchies, were able to resist Agnes; and henceforward numerous bishoprics, margravates, and fiefs, come out in relief as it were from the dead level and surface of Germanic history. Henry IV., one of the most debauched and besotted potentates who ever disgraced a diadem, held the reins of power, nominally or really, for half a century—the champion for simony in the Church and tyranny in the state. Yet the magnitude of his crimes surely enhanced the glory of the Pope and Saint who suppressed and punished them. Excommunicated by the Church, whom he had done his best to rob, corrupt, and deceive; forsaken by his own children, and abhorred of God and man, Henry IV. at length died in the abyss of wretchedness and misery at Liege, A.D. 1106. His second son of the same name, and sole survivor, who had already seized the sceptre ere it could naturally fall from the paternal grasp, administered the empire for eighteen years. He closed the Franconian line by dying at Utrecht without issue, A.D. 1125; having received absolution from Rome, of which it may be said that, in ecclesiastical matters, he almost as much stood in need as his less fortunate but more degraded predecessor.

The decease of Henry V. was followed by the elec-

two last had been the original patrimony of Henry the
er, whose female representative Lothaire himself had
ised. It was hoped by his father-in-law, that Henry
it have occupied the vacant seat of power; but the
nan electors, A.D. 1138, enthroned the House of
bia, in the person of Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen.
ry, his competitor, bore the great surname of Welf or
f; and Conrad, upon feudal pretensions, seized first a
on, and finally the entirety of his territories. Hence
nated the titles of Guelfs and Ghibellines,—the latter
llation being derived from Wibelung or Ghibelung, a
in Franconia, whence the Swabian princes are con-
d to have primevally sprung. These respective war-
, as is well-known, were but the trumpet-sounds of
s who contended for papal or imperial interests.
t will be presently evident enough on which side lay
eal welfare of society. Although Conrad left a son,
hoice of the electors fell, at his own request, upon his
ew, Frederic Barbarossa (A.D. 1152), who by his
id marriage with the Princess Beatrice, within five
s afterwards, united Franche Comté, or the free country
pper Burgundy, with his hereditary domains. When
ie commencement of his reign the Guelfs were rein-
d, he separated Austria into a distinct dukedom, and
wed it with peculiar privileges,—thus unconsciously

the helm of government on the demise of his father, A.D. 1190. The latter was on his road to Palestine when he was drowned in the river Cydnus. It happened that not very long before this intelligence reached the new monarch, he also received the news that William the Good, King of Sicily, had expired in the previous November, whereby Constance, aunt to William and consort to the son of Frederic Barbarossa, became sole legitimate heiress to that Norman monarchy. Its barons ineffectually supported a struggle for several years on behalf of Tancred, a natural grandson of Roger, the first count assuming the regal title; Henry VI. therefore crossed the Alps to realise his conjugal inheritance. The prowess of the Hohenstaufens culminated to its zenith, just as his own premature decease brought a cloud over their entire prospects. He had already manifested to an awful extent the perfidy, cruelty, and revengefulness of his character; ambition prompted him even to contemplate an union between the Oriental and German empires, as well as to render the last hereditary in his own family; his atrocities towards his southern subjects were such as that the empress herself took part against him. He died at Messina, A.D. 1197, either through fever, poison, or the consequences of both. A double election of Philip Duke of Swabia and Otho Guelf of Brunswick, engendered fresh contests for several years; nor was it until A.D. 1218 that the son of the sixth Henry, Frederick II., who as the favoured candidate of the Holy See had been elected six or seven years previously, in peace assumed the diadem. His eventful life found its chief employment in Italy, where instead of doing honourable battle as the champion of the Church, according to his coronation oath, he soon developed the inherent propensities of a Swabian Ghibelline, and the vices of a profligate infidel. Ungratefully forgetting his obligations to Pope Innocent III., the benefactor and guardian of his youth, he set at naught every profession of Catholic faith as well as the practice of Christian morals. He was heard to say that the world had been deceived by three mountebanks,—the son of Mary, Moses, and Mahomet; openly affirming that the two last supported their

glory to the end of the chapter, but that the first was disgracefully crucified! This is the potentate whom popular writers denominate the Protestant emperor of the thirteenth century. He died about A.D. 1248 or 1250, leaving his son and heir Conrad acknowledged but partially by a few princes, whose sudden decease in four years bequeathed the fading inheritance of the Hohenstaufens to Conradin the last of his race. He was cruelly executed at Naples by Charles of Anjou, the 26th of October, A.D. 1268.

Meanwhile the conflict between the Church and the world had been raging for many generations: as the former grew rich the latter became covetous; as the one rebuked the vices of its antagonist, pride and indignation waxed rampant; matters had grown to such a pass that emperors, princes, and great men resolved to consider spiritual jurisdiction as emanating from the State,—a question which reached its crisis during the eleventh century in the grand contest about investitures. Satan had worked his engines of wealth and power with so much success, that, in conjunction with external enemies, the vineyard of Almighty God was laid waste, and the sanctuary seemed in ruins. The spirit of Simon Magus appeared for a dreary interval to have proved more than a match for that of Simon Peter; benefices were to be bought and sold throughout Christendom, and the holy celibacy of the priesthood had withered into most foul corruption beneath the desolating influences of incontinence. Just as in nature that hour is darkest which precedes the break of day, so was the ecclesiastical catastrophe at its worst exactly before an avenger was at hand. This was no other than the mighty and saintly Hildebrand, the man of his age, known in history as Gregory VII.: of humble origin, there seemed nevertheless the stamp of eternity upon his destiny from the very commencement; within the cloisters of Clugni his soul cherished the seraphic fires of divine sanctity and charity; but it was from heaven alone that the fervid idea descended of restoring the liberty of religion, and vindicating the rights of her altars. His firmness of purpose was hewn out of the rock on which the

roughly destroyed Milan, that salt was sown where once St. Ambrose had preached, and cattle browsed in meadows upon the site of fortresses and palaces. No talents or perseverance less than those of Alexander could have weathered the storm. His capital was at that period under the domination of Arnold of Brescia, the heretical socialist of his time; secret societies of malcontents convulsed the pontifical states, as well as its northern and southern neighbours. The Roman populace attacked Alba and Tusculum in vain; baronial highwaymen, with antique titles and ferocious mercenaries, fortified the vast monuments of antiquity; the Coliseum and the Forum were possessed or beleaguered by nominally Christian warriors, far more degraded than the ashes of some of those whom they trampled beneath their feet. St. Angelo was stormed by the emperor A.D. 1167, whilst his battering-rams shook the very halls of the Vatican: already had the flames melted the roof over the portals of Our Lady of the Tower; yet the Pope, although defeated by violence, and compelled to retreat, never quailed; he rested on the excellence of his cause, which was that of the Church casting her sacred mantle over the municipal freedom of her subjects. In the end, after years of misery, slaughter, devastation, distress, and death, the oppressor altogether failed in his purpose; Guelfs and Ghibellines, indeed, fanned the flames of their respective factions long after Milan had re-arisen from her ruins, and a new city had been erected, called after the name of that brave and prudent Pontiff, to whom, under Almighty God, the existence and subsequent prosperity of Lombardy were entirely due. Frederic was overthrown at the great battle of Legnano, A.D. 1176; the following year he humbled himself before his Holiness at Venice, kissed his feet as he hastened to embrace him, and was conducted in peace, as a forgiven and reconciled foe, to the altar. A subsequent treaty, ratified at Constance on the 22d of June, A.D. 1183, recognised the laurels of liberty. The mollifying influences thus manifested by Alexander, were imitated again and again by his successors; as, for instance, when Henry VI. attempted to surpass the atrocities of his father in persecuting the Neapo-

litans and Sicilians. The victims of his vengeance had to sit on stools of red-hot iron; or, in other cases, crowns of the same kind were forced upon their agonising temples. Horrors such as these should warm our gratitude to Heaven, for having enabled the Popedom to assert the claims of humanity, and develop the charities of the Church, during the darkest periods and under the most difficult or distressing circumstances.

The progenitors of those unhappy persons, whom the Swabian tyrants thus dared to torture, had fought valiantly in many an arduous engagement during the period recently reviewed. With slight exceptions, the Normans in Italy were amongst the best friends of the Papacy, as already mentioned; nor did Hildebrand himself, in surveying the varieties of his position, forget the sword of Guiscard. On the death of that chieftain, his followers laid aside for sixty years their designs against the Eastern Empire. The policy, however, of Roger, the first king of Sicily, and nephew to Robert Guiscard, rekindled hostilities between the Byzantine court and the sovereign of Palermo. The latter soon launched a powerful fleet against the Ionian islands and the Grecian cities. His admiral then insulted the Hellespont; whence the Comnenian emperor Manuel, in concert with Venice, rapidly repulsed him, A.D. 1148-9. A truce ensued of some years in duration: but from that hour Manuel Comnenus conceived the project of restoring the sway of Constantinople over the southern provinces of Italy. Calabria seemed still attached to the Greek language and worship. After the loss of her dukes, Apuglia was chained, as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily; and a collateral descendant of the departed Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. As Henry VI. had expatiated in dreams on a union of the East and West, for the special benefit of the Hohenstaufens, so did the imagination of the imperial Comnenian gloat over similar fancies on behalf of his own family. His designs, therefore, upon the West led him to mingle in the fearful fray then raging between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, A.D. 1155-74. Alexander III. twice received his ambassadors in the Vatican;

but though a proposed reconciliation between the churches appeared naturally most desirable, the wisdom of the Pontiff withheld him from any hasty committal to the mirage of heretical promises. The result justified his caution. Manuel Comnenus soon broke out in his genuine colours; he lost the friendship of his Holiness, of the free cities of the Lombard League, and even of Venice herself, some of whose commercial property he had presumed to confiscate on the quays of his capital. With only fitful intervals, a warfare smouldered on between the Greeks and Normans: the latter of whom were often assisted by the Saracens. Their final hostilities occurred in A.D. 1185; after towns, cities, and villages had been ruined without number from Salerno to Bari; or from the Straits of Messina to Syracuse and Girgenti. The sack of Thessalonica manifested a pre-eminence of horrors; but neither the realms of the sons of Tancred nor the fair Queen of the Bosphorus were now far removed from those momentous revolutions which were to illustrate the glorious pontificate of Innocent III. He also reflected to perfection the mind and intentions of St. Gregory VII.; and without recounting the long catalogue of St. Peter's successors, through century after century, few things more strike an intelligent observer than the unity of conception, the oneness of purpose, the harmonious policy, which mark that entire line of ecclesiastical sovereigns. They march through the dark valley of ages as a series of sacerdotal impersonations, actuated and energised by a single, holy, wise, and apostolic soul. With few exceptions, the entire procession moves and glows and burns, as an army of saintly pastors, clothed with celestial powers, carrying the standard of the Cross, inflamed with an identical passion of love, and stretching, like a galaxy, across the social firmament. St. Gregory the Great was contemporary with Mahomet; the Gospel of his Master was opposed to the forgeries of the Koran; an unmitigable enmity could not but exist between the opposite systems; and the spirit with which the first Gregory had looked paganism or barbarism in the face, was only an anticipation of that genius which ormed, in the heart of Hildebrand, a project

of hurling Europe upon Asia, to rescue Jerusalem from the infidels.

The Holy Sepulchre had fallen under the sceptre of the Seljukian Turks, who had erected in the eleventh century a solid and splendid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt. Their ancestors, the Turkmans, had long lost their Scythian grandeur, which commenced about the time of Justinian. The Hungarian colony had subsided into the order of a Christian country. Mahmoud, one of their princes, had established the Gasnavide dynasty, A.D. 1000, upon the throne of India; which was subverted by the house of Seljuk, a tribe of kindred origin, A.D. 1038. Under Togrul Beg all Persia was conquered by this same people; who also adopted the creed of Islam as their own. He delivered the Abbasside caliph at Bagdad from the tyranny of the Bowides and their meaner instruments, A.D. 1055; who solemnly installed him as Sultan, or temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the false prophet. Dying childless, in A.D. 1063, his nephew Alp Arslan overran Armenia and Georgia; frustrated the far-famed triumphs of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, and captured the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, A.D. 1071. The following year, his son Malek Shah, who reigned for twenty summers, from Cashgar to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, succeeded to the Sultany; which, on his demise in A.D. 1092, broke into four divisions, governed respectively by the dynasties of Persia, which comprehended the largest portion; Kerman, including extensive regions on the shores of the Indian Ocean; Syria, of which Aleppo and Damascus were the capitals, and Roum, which included many of the Roman provinces of Asia Minor, having Iconium for their Turkish metropolis. But the most interesting of all the Seljukian conquests was, of course, the Holy City. The Black or Abbasside commanders of the faithful tolerated Christian pilgrimages upon payment of tribute; but whilst, as Mahometans, they professed to revere our Lord as a prophet, their unitarianism felt profoundly offended at the orthodoxy of the Catholics. When Palestine came to be transferred to the Green or Fatimite Caliphs, A.D. 969-1078,

with one considerable intermission, under the sacrilegious Hakem, the condition of Christianity rather improved than otherwise; whilst the practice of pilgrimage wonderfully augmented, partly through the general revival of religion after the miseries of the tenth century, and partly from the charity of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, affording as he did so many facilities for a safe transit through his country. But the overthrow of the Fatimites by the arms of Malek Shah, A.D. 1076, introduced disastrous changes. Not only was an aureus, a piece of gold worth eleven shillings, exacted from each pious stranger, but the sacred city itself had darkened into a den of lions. The Church of the Resurrection was defiled and disgraced by every species of savage rudeness. A demoniacal resolution was evidently rising, throughout the length and breadth of the land of the Moslem, to extirpate Catholicity itself by the sword and the strong hand; assisted, as they trusted would be the case, by the factions, schisms, and heresies, which were known to be rampant within the limits of Christendom. Hildebrand beheld the peril with the eye of a prophet and the faith of a saint. That the Cross should not succumb to the Crescent; that the sacred sign of baptism should never be violated by the knife of circumcision; that freedom, art, science, and literature, with social purity and order, should be for ever preserved in the ark of the only true Church,—there was a trumpet blown which vibrated from shore to shore; and Peter the Hermit was commissioned by Urban II. to preach the grand crusade.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1099-1291.

THE CRUSADES, TO THE LOSS OF THE LAST LATIN POSSESSION IN THE HOLY LAND.

THE Hermit who shook the world towards the close of the eleventh century, was like another St. Paul from the deserts of Thebais, small in stature and strangely picturesque in

appearance; but his eye sparkled with celestial fire, and his eloquence possessed that magical power which moves masses of men, as an earthquake heaves the mountains. His diet was rigorous, his prayers long and fervent. With bare head and naked feet, his body, meagre as a skeleton, was wrapped in a coarse garment; whilst he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix, beneath the shadow of which his shrivelled hands distributed the alms of the affluent,—his voice at the same time appealing in thunder to the deepest sensibilities of the hearts of his hearers. The very ass on which he rode became sanctified in public estimation by the service of the messenger of God. Amidst the agitation of the questions about investitures, and the scandals which disgraced the courts of European princes, the Popes well knew that these sinners in scarlet and fine linen only crawled upon the surface of society, leaving the multitudes, whom they enslaved or despised, open to more magnanimous sympathies. The Council of Placentia, in March A.D. 1095, under Urban II., had a magnificent attendance; as had that also at Clermont in November of the same year. The Festival of the Assumption had been fixed upon for the departure of the pilgrims: but a thoughtless throng preceded the real Crusaders, and atoned by their dispersion or destruction for much of the confusion resulting from such premature enthusiasm. The leaders of the first expedition were Godfrey of Bouillon, his brothers Eustace and Baldwin, Robert of Normandy, Hugh of France, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, Raymond Count of Thoulouse, Bohemond son of Robert Guiscard, his cousin Tancred, Walter of Limoges, accompanied by his lion, which he had rescued from a serpent, and which never deserted its deliverer; a thousand high-born chieftains shamed into gallantry by the religious fervour of the lower classes, and Adhemar Bishop of Puy, the Roman legate. To go into details would of course carry us far beyond our limits. The difficulties which had to be encountered were cruelly enhanced by the crafty policy of the Greek emperor and his emissaries. Alexius Comnenus had not the smallest objection to the western warriors monopolising the honours of the struggle; the harvest of their labours he appropriated to himself with

all conceivable dexterity. He obtained the homage of each important division, as he transported them successively across his narrow seas. For his benefit, without discerning or intending it, Nice was conquered by their heroic efforts from the Seljukian Soliman, A.D. 1097, which led to the subsequent victory of Doryleum on the 4th of July in that year, whereby the emperor re-acquired from the Turks their entire kingdom of Roum. Baldwin founded for a couple of generations the first Latin principality of Edessa, A.D. 1097-1151; Bohemond became Prince of Antioch, and Bertram of St. Giles Count of Tripoli. Disunion, famine, and pestilence, however, began to hang upon their rear whilst they lingered in Cilicia and on the coasts of Syria; and when on the banks of the Orontes a goat came to be worth three marks of silver, and a lean camel fifteen; when the Count of Flanders had to beg a dinner, and Godfrey to borrow a horse,—it required almost the visible interference of heaven to revive and sustain their courage. The discovery of the Holy Lance, which had pierced the Side of our Blessed Saviour, occurred at the most providential moment. It rallied all hearts that were not hardened in bloodshed and profligacy; and with this precious relic in their possession, the soldiers of the Cross reviewed their forces at Tyre, and set forward afresh for Jerusalem. The Fatimite caliphs of Egypt had previously availed themselves of their position for watching the defeat of their Turkish rivals, and had restored the green standard of Islamism on Mount Zion: yet this was only the odious Crescent under another colour; the genuine conflict lay between the Koran and the Gospel; archbishop Adembert of Pisa arrived with large reinforcements; and by way of Cæsarea, Lydda, and Emmaus, Godfrey and his armies, on the 7th of June A.D. 1099, fell on their knees within sight of the glorious prize. No tongue or pen could express the emotions of that hour!

The Saracens of Egypt had materially strengthened the defences, so that the siege lasted, amidst prodigies of valour on both sides, for nine-and-thirty days; on the fortieth the Crusaders mounted the walls, the 15th of July. The height on which the Temple had once stood still held *out; but Aladin,* or Iftikhar, as the lieutenant of the Mos-

serve and administer the rights and privileges of free
and another of Syrians, for the protection of the n
Orientals. We may observe, nevertheless, that the
striking characteristics of mediæval society are still
ciently visible in their celebrated constitution: it r
tains the law of judicial combat, not only in criminal c
but even in civil transactions of or above the value o
mark of silver; villains and slaves, the peasants o
land, and captives of war, are treated as goods and
tels; like hounds or hawks who had strayed from
lawful owner, these last might be lost or claimed. A
and a falcon were of the same value; but three slav
twelve oxen were accumulated to equal the price o
war-horse, and a sum of three hundred pieces of gold
fixed, in the age of chivalry, as the equivalent of the
noble animal. Amongst the great feudatories of the
archy we find enumerated the Counts of Galilee an
berias, of Joppa and Tyre, of Beirout, Heraclea, Ma
and some others, besides Laodicea, Tripoli, and Ed
but by far the firmest bulwarks were the three orde
religious knighthood, two of which still flourish,-
Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Confi
nity; they were bound to their respective objects b
most solemn vows,—to take care of infirm pilgrim
protect the roads from robbers, to live in celibacy, in
dience to their superiors, and without private posses
to be the first in battle and the last in retreat.
earliest of these assumed the profession of arms
A.D. 1120; the latter was not established until the
of Acre, A.D. 1190. Strange as the association may
appear between things divine and human, it is surely
that the electric chain should be connected with h
than with hell. The chivalry of the Crusaders bound
to objects of charity, valour, and refinement, whils
secret societies of their antagonists involved the gra
tion of murder and revenge. The Old Man of the M
tain, as he was termed, represented the real genius
heresy like Mahometanism: his residence was amon
hills to the south of the Caspian, where as an imau
sacred person, he ruled despotically over a set of fa

called the Assassins. With the tenets of the Koran they blended the dreams of a metempsychosis: assuming endless disguises, which enabled them to pass up and down through all countries and ranks of society in the earth, their daggers were planted in the breasts of the bravest warriors during moments when danger could be least suspected. No vestiges happily, beyond their name, of these spirits, or rather demons of darkness, have survived within the boundaries of civilisation, unless we may identify them with the accursed Thugs of India. Godfrey abhorred from the bottom of his soul their detestable devices; for he possessed a love for God and man beyond reproach, together with the pearl of humility enchased in the heroism of the champion. William of Tyre describes him as the wisest as well as the most glorious of the Christian adventurers; with one stroke of his sword he clave a Saracen in twain from the shoulders downwards, and with another cut off the head of a camel; but his reign seemed only too short: within two years his brother Baldwin succeeded him, who was followed by his cousin, the second of that title. By female succession, the sceptre then passed to Mellisenda, a daughter of the last, married to Fulke, Count of Anjou, the father by a former alliance of our English Plantagenets; their two sons, Baldwin III. and Amaury, waged a strenuous war against the infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin IV., was unhappily a leper: deprived through that misfortune of his faculties, his sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin V., became his natural heiress, and she, after the decease of her child, gave her hand and the crown to her second husband, the handsome Guy of Lusignan,—subsequently sovereign of Cyprus.

Their enemies having been stunned and not slain, the Latins were constantly molested by the Turkish sultans of Damascus and the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. The Christian territories extended from the mountains of Armenia to the confines of Arabia and the Serbonian Marsh; but in A.D. 1144, Edessa was retaken by the Atabek of Mosul; and within twenty years of the earliest conquest, the Greek Emperor Alexius had improved upon his selfish policy, gathering up sheaves where hitherto he had been

satisfied with handfuls. The isles of Rhodes and Chios, the cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea, Philadelphia, and Sardis, were all recovered to the Byzantine dominion, now once more extended from the Hellespont to the banks of the Meander and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. A second crusade, A.D. 1147, in which Conrad III. and Louis VII. engaged, each with seven myriads of cavalry, effected scarcely any diversion. Anatolia appeared to swallow them up, besides absorbing the mixed multitudes of infantry attending them, just as a wilderness drinks up the rain. The Atabek, already mentioned, had united under his son Noureddin the scattered Mahometan powers; scourging the Syrian Christians, spreading his ample sway from the Tigris to the Nile, and receiving from the Abbassidan representative of the Prophet at Bagdad the titles and prerogatives of heretical royalty, A.D. 1145-1174. During part of this interval, Egypt was finally wrested from the green banners of Islam, A.D. 1163-9. The last of the Fatimites expired at Cairo, A.D. 1171. Shiracough, the victorious general of Noureddin, assumed the robe and rank of vizier over the valley of the Great River, from Alexandria to the cataracts; and transferred his office and armies to his more celebrated nephew Saladin. By birth a Curd, and by his talents a conqueror, the new vizier, reviving and restoring, and upholding the Abbassidan caliph Mosthadi as his religious superior, set aside the family of his late master Noureddin, on the death of that princely Atabek; had his usurpation sanctioned beneath the black standard of the vicar of Mahomet at Bagdad; annexed to his monarchy the realms of Aleppo, Damascus, and Mesopotamia; compelled Mecca and Medina to acknowledge him as their temporal protector; and subdued, through his brother, the distant regions of Yemen the Happy, A.D. 1171-1193. The Mowaheddins, a set of circumcised enthusiasts, professing to extract from the Koran certain maxims of perfection, had in the course of this century overcome the Morabeths and Zeirides, in Morocco and Northern Africa, besides making large acquisitions in the Algarves, Seville, Grenada, and Murcia: [illegible]st had also lost Sicily to the Normans; but the tri-

umphant Curd, deeming himself far more saintly than any Mahometan sectaries, defeated the Mowaheddins, and obliged them to surrender to him the provinces of Tunis and Tripoli. His empire therefore, at its uttermost extent, spread before his death from the sands of Sahara to the frontiers of Persia, and from Nubia to the fountains of the Euphrates. Such was the power of Saladin, in whose eye no acquisition could be compared with the kingdom of Jerusalem; towards the attainment of which sacred object he therefore directed every effort of his genius, and collected the flower of his forces. Guy of Lusignan, in right of Sybilla his consort, had ascended the throne of Godfrey, on the demise of Baldwin V., his step-son, whom he was more than suspected of having poisoned. Some of the second Crusaders had attempted the passage by sea; but although they had liberated Lisbon from the yoke of the Moslem, their success on the Tagus seemed of small service to the alarmed and harassed Paladins of Palestine. The Byzantine emperor was also cherishing an alliance with the Egyptian potentate. The guardians of the Holy City, throughout the latter years of its Latin possessors, were a leper, a child, a lady, a coward, and a traitor. Lusignan was taken prisoner at the battle of Tiberias; and on the 2d of October, A.D. 1187, his glorious metropolis, of which he was so little worthy, capitulated to Saladin. He descended with his hosts from the Mount of Olives, and manifested most praiseworthy clemency in his treatment of the captured; but the Cross was cast down from the dome of the grand Mosch of Omar, amidst the sighs and lamentations of the Christians, and the clamorous congratulations of their enemies.

William, Bishop of Tyre, the historian of these times, carried the sad intelligence to Rome, where good Pope Urban III. died of terror and chagrin. St. Bernard, whose eloquence and holiness had awakened the lethargy of a former generation, was gone to that happier world for his reward where wars and fightings are no more: but the Italians nevertheless assembled under the prelates of Ravenna and Pisa; the Normans prepared for the struggle; Denmark and Friesland sent fifty ships, and Flanders

thirty-seven; the lion-hearted Richard of England, the wily Philip Augustus of France, and Frederic of Barbarossa, obeyed the Papal summons; and it was at least edifying to behold the emperor, at the head of 90,000 soldiers, about to attempt some reparation of his policy in Lombardy, where, after so many years of cruelty and despotism, it was the wisdom of Alexander alone which had compelled him to emancipate no less than four-and-twenty republics. Many of their nobles and citizens now embarked in the galleys of Genoa and Venice for the third Crusade, A.D. 1188; but Barbarossa marched through Hungary, and defeated a Seljukian army. His successes terrified the Greeks, and arrested the attention of Saladin. He had reached the frontiers of Syria, when, not far from the spot where the Macedonian conqueror of Darius had incurred the risk of death from a similar accident, Frederic, having plunged himself and horse into the icy cold waters of the Saleph or Cydnus, expired from a stroke of apoplexy, on the 10th of June, A.D. 1190. After rescuing his remains from the river, his second son of the same name conducted the expedition towards the Holy Land; where already the Sultan of Egypt had experienced a check, and had retreated from Tyre to Damascus. The energetic conflict between Saladin and Richard, before the walls of Ptolemais or Acre, and in the plains of Esdraelon, is well known. Never did the ardour of enthusiasm blaze out with more fierce or destructive rage, July A.D. 1189-91. Nine battles were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel; in one attack the Sultan forced his way into the city; in another, the Christians penetrated into the royal pavilions, until at length Ptolemais fell. The Crusaders thus gained a strong fortress and most convenient harbour. It was from this occasion that the Teutonic Knights derived their origin; the restoration of the wood of the True Cross was also effected, the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were recovered, and the Franks advanced within a day of the Sacred Sepulchre. By the treaty of September, A.D. 1192, it came to be stipulated that Jerusalem, with all the Holy Shrines, should be open for the access and worship of Christian pilgrims, without tribute

or vexation of any sort; that the territories on the sea-coast should remain in the possession of the Latins; and that thus a truce should be established between the Crusaders and the Moslem. It is remarkable how completely the latter had put the entire merits of the contest upon its being a struggle between their Unitarianism on the one side, as contrasted with what the Saracenic preachers described to be the idolatry of Trinitarianism on the other. With all his faults, the King of England was the hero of the scene. His gallantry was the theme of admiration amongst friends and foes; the Sultan marvelled at the Catholic monarch, surrounded by his chivalry in mail of proof and glittering steel. Several acts of mutual courtesy just softened the asperities of warfare,—such as the exchange of snow and fruits from the summits and valleys of Lebanon for Scandinavian hounds, or the hawks of Norway. Philip Augustus had stolen back into Europe to prepare for the seizure, when all should be ready, of that noble duchy, within his own realm, whence the English champion had enlisted some of his bravest men-at-arms, almost giants in strength and stature, and bearing those enormous battle-axes, which broke down all before them. With some of these he conquered the fair island of Cyprus, which an Isaac Angelus, of the Comnenian family, had usurped, and badly governed. It was ultimately sold to Guy, the King of Jerusalem, when he had obtained his liberty; whose house of Lusignan, with their heirs of Poictiers, reigned there for 300 years. Richard was seized and imprisoned on his way home by a jealous and grasping adversary in the person of the Duke of Austria; Saladin died at Damascus, 4th March, A.D. 1193, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His character exhibited many traits of grandeur and magnanimity; there were the seriousness and solidity, and austerity of the old caliphs throughout the entire staple of his unfortunate fanaticism: he directed an equal distribution of alms at his death amongst the indigent of all religions; and his shroud was displayed before him, instead of a standard, to admonish the East of the instability of earthly greatness.

Through his death the Latins preserved some position

in Palestine for nearly another century. The zeal and talents of Pope Innocent III. were mounting above the horizon. He had succeeded to the tiara with general approbation; and within the eighteen years of his glorious pontificate, those labours had commenced of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which renovated the decaying piety of Christendom. The seraph of Assisi was wrapt in love, the oracle of Osma was clothed in power; both were luminaries of the Church, and their radiance will never expire. Innocent belonged to the family of the Counts of Segni: learned, eloquent, able, attractive, engaging, and generous, his frugality in private expenses afforded him vast sums for the poor, for the encouragement of art and science, for the restoration of prosperity to the Ecclesiastical States, for the assistance of foreign and distant dioceses, and the maintenance of the true religion in Palestine. The fourth grand Œcumenical Council of Lateran was held under his auspices; and whilst he decided between the aspirants to the German and imperial diadem, his supreme spiritual authority was acknowledged once more at Constantinople. At the feet of his legate it was that the wretched brother of Richard surrendered the English crown; and at his voice two Crusades, the fourth and fifth, were readily undertaken. The former of these expeditions, indeed, was diverted from its original object: Isaac Angelus, who had wreaked public vengeance upon Andronicus, and ascended the Byzantine throne A.D. 1185, was, as we have seen, set aside, and blinded by his own brother Alexius III. ten years afterwards. The youthful heir of the deposed emperor escaped into Sicily, whence in due course of time he went to Rome, to salute the threshold of the apostles. Recent circumstances could not fail to have aroused many mingled sensations in the minds of the occidentals towards the members of the oriental schism. Originating as far back, in its earliest forms, as the reigns of Constantine and his descendants, an open breach seemed to be first effected through the wickedness of Photius, A.D. 857-886; subsequent heresies and jealousies pushed matters on from worse to worse, coupled with the differences of discipline and language, until the Crusaders inflamed the soreness to an ex-

tent absolutely intolerable. The advent of Andronicus to his metropolis was signalised by a massacre of the Catholics, A.D. 1183; their houses were reduced to ashes, the clergy were burnt alive in their own churches, together with the sick in their hospitals, and no less than four thousand of their numbers were sold into Turkish slavery. The head of the cardinal legate was severed from his body, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged with savage ignominy along the streets, amidst anthems of blasphemous thanksgiving to Almighty God. Retaliation was only natural; yet it proved most hideous and dreadful. In addition to these alternations of catastrophe, the Bulgarians had become an important element in the dispute. Since the days of Basil II. they had endured, as well as they could, the yoke of Byzantine servitude; Isaac Angelus provoked them into revolt, A.D. 1186, by depriving them of their flocks and herds. Invoking their patron St. Demetrius, they quickly and successfully asserted their independence; an application made to the Pope for his benediction and protection, as they avowed their conversion to orthodoxy, was graciously received. Innocent granted their leader Joanices a license to coin money, the royal title and prerogative, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. In this manner, what is styled the second Bulgarian kingdom obtained its establishment—a fruitful source of mortification in the East and of triumph in the West. The son of Isaac Angelus, therefore, could hardly have appeared at Rome at a more critical period. Fulke of Neuilly, an illiterate but powerful preacher, had trodden in the stern paths of Peter the Hermit and the sainted Abbot of Clairvaux, arousing by his sermons and miracles the mighty peerage of France to the rescue of the Holy Land. On his passage through Italy, Alexius heard that the choicest warriors of Europe were assembling at Venice to embark for the fourth Crusade, and a gleam of hope enkindled in his bosom that their invincible swords might be employed in the restoration of his father. It must be remembered, too, that the proud Queen of the Adriatic had her own private grudges against Constantinople, which at least predisposed their minds in a particular direction. An alliance was formed between the French

and Venetians in the opening year of the thirteenth century; their primary efforts were directed against Zara an important town and harbour in Dalmatia, which had revolted from the Republic. Both there and at St. Mark's the young exile plied his entreaties. Worldly wisdom lent a listening ear; so much so, that Innocent conceived they might waste the entire season in the Adriatic, and lose sight of their highest object altogether. His excommunication of certain false confederates helped to bring them back to their senses. When Dandolo the Doge, however, had gained his point in persuading the allies to listen to Alexius, and undertake an expedition to the Hellespont and Bosphorus, instead of Acre and Palestine, many of the pilgrims withdrew. Those who remained were the prudent and the brave, the far-seeing and the selfish, whose main purposes were those of power and plunder, to be obtained by deep counsels and strong arms, at any risk of life or compromise of conscience. The defection of their former companions had indeed left them comparatively fewer in mere numbers, but in genuine fitness for the enterprise more firmly united and determined.

Arrigo Dandolo is said to have been ninety years old at this time, and nearly blind; but his mental eyes had a scope and sweep of vision far and near, so that he was the Nestor of the whole scheme. His pilots conducted the fleet to Corfu; then round the southern cape of the Morea, by the islands of Negropont and Andros, to Abydos, on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont. From the Dardanelles and the Propontis they gradually approached the capital, having quitted Zara on the 7th of April, A.D. 1203, and gained their goal on the following midsummer-day. As they glided towards the Golden Horn, immense was their admiration of such a metropolis as none of them could have ever seen,—the glorious creation of the Constantines, with its domes and spires rising from their seven hills, and towering over the continents of Europe and Asia. There is a curious account still extant, drawn up by themselves, as a narrative of what happened, for the perusal of the Pope, to whom they respectfully and dutifully transmitted it. The intellect of a politician, rather than a Crusader, is

amusingly visible: "As we could not but apprehend that we should by our great multitude be burdensome to the Holy Land, and as we learnt that the citizens of Constantinople wished to return under the dominion of their lawful emperor, we thought it expedient to settle the disquiets that existed there, in order to secure for ourselves the necessary supplies and assistances for our future proceedings. We found the city uncommonly strong, the citizens in arms, sixty thousand cavalry, and all the implements necessary for defence; the unlawful emperor had told the people that we designed to subdue them, and reduce their Church in obedience to your Holiness. Being only stocked with provisions for fourteen days, we were obliged to repeat our attacks without intermission. On the eighth day we broke into the city: the emperor flying with a few of his followers, we seated Alexius IV. on the throne of his father, after setting free the latter from his dungeon. The new emperor promised us 200,000 marks of silver, provisions for a twelvemonth, and his assistance in recovering the Holy Sepulchre; he only desired us, on account of the Greeks, to remain in our camp without the city. Soon after this, he suffered himself to be persuaded by his father to fall upon us by surprise and set fire to our fleet. The project was discovered; the people, afraid of our vengeance, cried out for a sovereign. The emperor, in order to appease us and them, sent to the discontented his kinsman Murtzulph (Alexius V.). The latter betrayed and murdered the emperor and his father, and closed the gates of the city against us. There is, Holy Father, in the whole West, no city like Constantinople; the walls are lofty and wide, consisting of squared stones: at every interval of 500 paces is a stone tower, supporting another of wood six stories high; between the towers are bridges full of arms and bowmen: double and very wide fosses allowed no play to our machines. Often during the night they sent fire-ships out against us. Our land forces alarmed Murtzulph; but he preferred to die rather than surrender. He had killed the young emperor with a club, and he gave out that Alexius had died from other causes: he obtained advantages over

us; but at length the ships Paradise and Pilgrim, under the command of the Bishops of Troyes and Soissons, effected a landing. When the Greeks saw that the whole forces of the Franks were pressing into the haven and into the streets, their courage forsook them; not far from us the emperor took flight, with all the nobles, and sought refuge in the palace. We put the people to the sword in the streets until night came on; at length our foot-soldiers, without orders, rushed with irresistible force to storm the imperial residence, and made themselves masters of it,—whereupon all Constantinople submitted. Most Holy Father, the quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and other costly things which we have found, far exceeds all that could be collected in the city of Rome, and in all our Christendom. Six Venetian noblemen, with the Bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halbentadt, and Ptolemais, assembled with the legates of your Holiness; and after celebrating High Mass and public prayers, with the counsel and assistance of the high and mighty Lord Henry Dandolo, Doge of Venice, elected Baldwin, Count of Flanders, to be Emperor of Constantinople; the fourth part of the empire was left to him, the remainder we divided among ourselves. We will endeavour to maintain possession of this fine land, full of corn, wine, oil, wood, and pasturage; and share it out in fiefs to the noble knights who will join their arms to ours. As we have read in histories, and understood from learned men, that in old times the predecessors of your Holiness came even to Constantinople, we entreat your Holiness to do the same, and here to hold a Council." Innocent III. knew too well what became his character, not to publish the bann of the Church against Crusaders who, instead of realising their vows in Palestine, had shed torrents of blood and deposed Christian emperors; yet, as he said, on a more full consideration of the circumstances, he again absolved them in due form. His own prudence and penetration satisfied him that permanent prosperity could scarcely attend the exploits of such heroes, however brilliant, and even dazzling, their present results might appear. He declined accepting their invitation to the banks

of the Bosphorus; whilst he redoubled his vigilance in watching the progress of affairs, as the universal pastor of his people.

The amount of plunder must indeed have been enormous. The household of the late Isaac Angelus had comprehended no less than 20,000 eunuchs and domestics; although, no doubt, a proportion of the last were soldiers or imperial guards. His civil list involved a daily expenditure of 4000 pounds of silver; and after allowing for all the destruction of property consequent upon the two sieges and assaults of Dandolo—for three fearful conflagrations which desolated more than a league in length of the most populous regions of the capital, and for all that may have been concealed by caution or timidity,—there yet remained, as a mere residue, to the share of the French alone, the value of 800,000*l.* sterling, in the way of booty. Well might the eyes of avarice gloat over the heaps of coined and uncoined metals, in the shape of massive plate, or the less inconvenient form of money current with the merchant; or the piles of rich silks, velvets, furs, gems, and costly furniture. Amidst such unbounded treasures, the stern voice of Innocent broke, like a clap of thunder from a cloud, when he had obtained less imperfect information of their recent proceedings. He taxed them too truly with the most atrocious cruelties, with their deeds of darkness, their violation of virgins and matrons, their pollution of sanctuaries and altars in open day;—even the repositories of the dead were rifled, and the priceless specimens of ancient art irreparably destroyed. Nicetas enumerates and bewails such losses as those of the bronze charioteers, which might have once adorned the Olympic stadium; the Byzantine eagle and serpent, so exquisitely wrought that it was ascribed to enchantment; the incomparable statues of Helen and Hercules; a colossal one of Juno, from Samos; with other monuments possibly of Lysippus, Phidias, or Praxiteles. A redeeming feature may be noticed in the Catholic piety of those individuals, who secured a noble number of relics, images, and crucifixes, which were quickly transferred to Italy for sale and safety. Murtzulph, or Mourzoufle, the nominal fifth Alexius, was

captured in a bath, deprived of his sight, and thrown headlong from the summit of the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble 147 feet high, amidst myriads of spectators shouting as he was dashed to pieces. Venice took possession of the islands of the Grecian Sea; old Dandolo died in immense glory at Constantinople; Achaia and the Peloponnesus were divided into various fiefs, held by great magnates, many of them barons and nobles of France. Otho de la Roche, a Burgundian, became Duke of Athens; Theodore Lascaris, a prince of genius, who had married the daughter of Alexius III., preserved a wreck of the Byzantine grandeur at Nice, in Bithynia, which formed a metropolis to the sovereignty of Asia Minor, under the imperial name. Two other states were founded by members of the Comnenian family—one at Trebizond, by a grandson of the infamous Andronicus, who bore the ducal title, and reigned in peace along the shores of the Black Sea, from Sinope to the Phasis. In the later generations, his descendants called themselves emperors. An illegitimate scion of the house of Angelus Comnenus also contrived to imitate the example, in appropriating another fragment of the Greek dominions, which came to be called the Despotate of Epirus, and included that small but important province, with the districts of Acarnania, Etolia, and Thessaly, nearly from the entrance of the Adriatic across to the confines of the Archipelago. Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin usurper of the diadem of Constantinople, met with an insidious death from Joannices, King of the Bulgarians. It is affirmed, that the queen solicited his virtue, when a prisoner in the hands of her husband; on his refusal, hatred and jealousy wreaked upon him the extremities of vengeance; dismembered and mutilated, he was cast forth, not as yet dead, to be devoured by birds of prey, whose horrid banquet is said to have been protracted for three days, before life had absolutely departed from his remains. Henry, his brother, succeeded in August, A.D. 1206, and reigned for ten years,—the only interval of French domination on the Bosphorus presenting any symptoms of peace or prosperity. His endeavours to conciliate his Greek subjects

are thought to have drawn him into some compromises; and, certainly, in the Cathedral of St. Sophia he deserved censure, as the Pope justly told him, for presuming to place his throne on the right hand of the Patriarch. Henry died at Thessalonica, in April A.D. 1217, when Peter of Courtenay, his brother-in-law, undertook the government. Misfortune dogged his footsteps. The despot of Epirus made him a prisoner on his journey from Durazzo, in company with the papal legate; nor was he released from captivity but by a natural or untimely death, in A.D. 1219. His second son, Robert, accepted the shadow of imperial power—for it was no more,—and augmented the public calamities. Theodore Angelus attacked him, from Epirus on one side, and Theodore Lascaris from Nice on the other. His morals were not immaculate, nor his abilities equal to his station; shame, grief, and impotent resentment extinguished his earthly existence A.D. 1228. His youthful son assumed the paternal diadem as Baldwin II.; but with a hero for his colleague and adopted sire, in John of Brienne, an aged nobleman from Champagne, of gigantic size and stature. Beneath the weight of fourscore years his vigorous intellect had only acquired wisdom, without losing strength. He preserved Constantinople, for a brief period, from the Greeks and Bulgarians. Contemporary poets compared him with Hector, Roland, and Judas Maccabæus; but beyond all reasonable doubt he was the champion of his metropolis; nor will Catholic piety fail to admire his ambition, after fifty years of secular glory, to enter Paradise in the habit of a Franciscan friar. On his demise, the 23d of March, A.D. 1237, the fate of the Latin diadem in the East was sealed. His pupil, Baldwin, dishonoured the throne for nearly another quarter of a century; until, in July, A.D. 1261, Michael Palæologus, as colleague and guardian of the infant John Lascaris, recovered the capital of the Constantines with little difficulty and less bloodshed. Baldwin, in deep humiliation, survived his deposition thirteen years: through his poverty and distresses very many most interesting relics became the property of France—such as the crown of thorns which agonised

the brow of our Blessed Saviour, an authentic portion of the cross on which He suffered, the sponge that was lifted on a reed to His lips, and the spear of the Roman soldier, which had so happily been discovered at Antioch.

The fifth Crusade had been undertaken, A.D. 1218, when 200,000 Franks landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile; for after the death of Saladin the wisest of politicians considered, from the changes which had occurred in the East, that a blow struck at Egypt might open the road to Mount Zion. Damietta was wrested from the Moslem; but had to be restored, partly from the mismanagement of its captors, and partly from the sickliness of the situation, as well as the season. The Hungarians, Austrians, Frisons, Germans, and Norwegians melted away beneath the heat of the sun, and amidst the miasma of an overflowing river. Some time afterwards, the Emperor Frederic II., blasted as to person and character by ecclesiastical censures, at length felt himself obliged to fulfil his vow; which he did by marching to Jerusalem, A.D. 1228, and taking with his own hands (for no priest could perform the office) the crown from the altar of the Holy Sepulchre. His treaty with Malek-el-Kamel, or Meledin, the successor to Saladin, obtained for the Latins the Sacred City, Bethlehem, Nazareth, with the sea-coast to Tyre and Sidon. But Frederic was as profane as he was courageous—fearing neither God nor man; his own unbelief and personal profligacy only inflamed the disorders of Palestine: the Knights of St. John ranged themselves in battle array against the Templars; these seeking an alliance with the Turks of Damascus, those with the Sultans of Cairo. In A.D. 1233-4 the Carizmians, or Choresmians, came down in a torrent upon all the combatants. Their savagery rendered the land a desert from Dan to Beersheba. The Mongols had displaced them from their native locations; and in their consequent onset upon the Crusaders at Gaza, the weapons of a horde, which had emigrated from between the Caspian Sea and the Lake of Aral into Bucharia, Caubul, Irac, and Chorassan, went far towards the temporary annihilation of the military orders. St. Louis, the monarch of

France, was moved with alarm and sympathy: the simplicity of his heart could know no rest, after Europe had again lost possession of Calvary and the garden of Gethsemane. His noble country may have produced many warriors; but in none has a royal devotion to religion been so wonderfully exemplified: his earthly crown seemed to have caught an illumination from the celestial diadem in store for him, and of which it was the anticipation and the symbol. We may well fancy him, according to the picture of Joinville, sitting under an oak in the woods of Vincennes, or on a carpet spread in his garden, when all who had any complaint freely approached him: but Jerusalem, where his Redeemer had lived and died, could never be forgotten. Sailing from Aigues Mortes, and spending the winter at Cyprus, A.D. 1248, he took Damietta with ease; for he had resolved to follow out the plans of his late predecessors, in attempting to conquer Palestine through Egypt. The Levant was overshadowed with 1800 sails: there were nearly 140,000 soldiers on board his vessels before they landed with their pious and gallant monarch at their head, leaping on shore in complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him. But disaster soon darkened the aspirations and hopes of the sixth Crusade—disease thinned and disheartened their ranks. Their premature good-fortune had induced the Count of Artois to advance up the Nile during its inundation, and strike at Cairo: Mansura, indeed, fell into his hands; but the waters were against them, the sluices were cut, the count was slain; the Greek fire, which had been borrowed or stolen from Constantinople, now thundered and flashed upon the Christian invaders of a Mahometan country; provisions fell short, and St. Louis, with all his chivalry, became captive to the Moslem. He might indeed have himself escaped, would he but have left his faithful army to its fate. The termination, however, proved sufficiently tragical; the massacre of such as had no means of redeeming their lives by ransom, or valuable service, furnished a gory circle of heads around the fortress of the infidels. Fetters were even imposed upon the King of France: nor could the capitulation be effected on better terms than the

restoration of every conquest, and the payment of 400,000 pieces of gold. The Mamelukes, at this juncture, overthrew the successors of Saladin, and kept Egypt for more than two centuries and a half, A.D. 1250-1517, through forty-eight revolutions; their sultans were seldom hereditary, being generally a favourite slave or some daring soldier. Originally levied as mercenaries in the Caucasus, they soon constituted a sort of prætorian band, sufficiently powerful after two or three generations to change places with their masters. St. Louis, having purchased his liberty, betook himself to Acre, where he spent four years, fruitlessly endeavouring to assuage the Latin factions, and once more secure Jerusalem. It is true that he failed in these objects; yet not in edifying all Christendom by his incomparable justice, forbearance, and patience, his unbounded almsgiving, and the immense sums which he expended in the redemption of prisoners from their enemies. The death of his mother, the good Queen Blanche, whom he had left as regent in his absence, at last summoned him home, where for sixteen years he adorned the throne, enlarged his realms, improved the finances, extended his prerogative, and in every respect augmented the welfare and prosperity of his people.

The Mamelukes may be divided into two dynasties, the Baharites, who were Turks or Tartars, from Kipjaick, and the Borgites, who were Circassians; they soon acquired Nubia, Arabia, and Syria, in addition to Egypt, for some interval, and the prowess of the approaching Mongols alone prevented them from driving the Franks altogether out of their territories. Insulated expeditions of valiant pilgrims, such as that of our first Edward, perhaps might somewhat assist in delaying that result; but in June A.D. 1268 Antioch fell before the assault of Bibars or Bondochdar, followed up by the loss of Gabala, Laodicea, Tripoli, Beirout, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, with all the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars. St. John of Acre alone remained as a beacon of hope or despair, when St. Louis resolved upon attempting the seventh and last regular Crusade, partly as the execution of a vow, partly under the influence of Charles of Anjou, his brother, who, having received the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily from

the Pope, persuaded him to strike at Mahometanism on the coast of Barbary, partly through an idea that the chief of Tunis was willing to receive Christian baptism; but above all, and mainly, inspired with the desire of advancing the glory of God, and supporting his holy Church. The Abuhafides and Merinides had succeeded the Mowaheddins throughout the states of Northern Africa, after the family of Saladin had passed away. With a squadron of six thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, he embarked on the 1st of July, A.D. 1270; and when over against Cagliari, in Sardinia, it was decided in council that an attack should be made on Tunis, which, had it succeeded, would no doubt have facilitated subsequent operations on the Nile, and for which the Neapolitan fleet was promised to afford assistance. That fleet had not arrived, although its delays proved the cause of manifold misfortunes, when, amidst the heats of a burning season, St. Louis landed with his forces; a siege on that spot, where the ruins of Carthage were still visible, commenced immediately, but around the walls pestilence and fever only waited for their victims. John Tristan, Count of Nevers, a most beloved son of the holy monarch, was the first person of distinction who fell ill, and he expired of dysentery in the twenty-first year of his age: on the very day of his death the king himself, with Philip, his heir, sickened. During three weeks his health and strength slowly wasted away amidst unremitted attention to the duties of his exalted station, the augmented perils of the expedition, the re-union of the Greek and Latin communions, and, above all, his own solemn preparations for dissolution. Frequently receiving the holy Eucharist, when he could no longer move from his bed he had a large cross placed beside it, so that he could always turn his longing gaze towards the symbol of eternal love. On the 24th of August, which was Sunday, he received the last Sacraments, and spending the rest of his time in ardent acts of prayer and praise, he lost his speech the next day from nine to twelve o'clock; yet he recovered it again, and raising his eyes towards heaven, he repeated aloud those words of the Psalmist: "*Lord, I will enter into thine house*, I will

adore in thy holy temple, and give glory to Thy name." He spoke again at three in the afternoon; but only said, "*Into thy hands I commend my soul;*" immediately after which, in his tent, he breathed his last, on the 25th of August, A.D. 1270, being fifty-five years and four months old, and having reigned forty-three years, nine months, and eighteen days. We have dwelt a moment upon the last of the royal Crusaders, as affording so happy and holy a type of the mind of the Church with regard to these expeditions, and as shedding a light upon those baser drawbacks with which the world, the flesh, and the devil, too often contrived to cloud and eclipse them. Charles of Anjou, a singular contrast to his brother, arrived with his vessels a few minutes after St. Louis IX. had exchanged earth for heaven. The Christian army twice defeated the Saracens, in two grand engagements, and on the 30th of October concluded a peace on favourable conditions; namely, that prisoners should be released, slaves set at liberty, the profession of the true religion allowed, an annual tribute paid to the Sicilian crown, and 210,000 ounces of gold given down to the French army towards the expenses of the war. Ptolemais and its territory still remained a Catholic principality for twenty-one years longer, adorned with stately sanctuaries, noble secular edifices, several aqueducts, an artificial harbour, and a double wall; thither resorted a curious conflux of nations, a variety of pilgrims and paladins, and some titular rulers,—the place, in fact, had seventeen tribunals, many sovereigns, and no government. Kalil, the Mameluke sovereign, in a siege of thirty-three days, at length captured it, on the 18th of May, A.D. 1291; the King of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, and all who could escape, found an asylum in the Isle of Cyprus; and so terminated the seven greater expeditions of the middle ages, to recover from the votaries of the false prophet the metropolis and soil of the Holy Land.

Their beneficial effects upon society and manners can scarcely be doubted, and certainly not denied. The followers of the Cross, in migrating from the West into the East, came into contact with a civilisation in many respects

superior to their own: the manufactures, trade, commerce arts, sciences, and learning of Italy, France, Germany, the British Isles, and Scandinavia, one and all reaped some advantages. The mere process of intercommunication proved useful to the ruder occidentals; it enlarged their views, wore off their prejudices, engendered new ideas, softened their manners, and formed many earnest desires after domestic amelioration; the state and tenure of property became wonderfully affected; the iron image of feudalism was smitten upon its feet, although generations were required for its fall; the vast landed possessions of peers and knights and nobles were broken up, and parcelled out in time amongst more numerous hands, with some capital and industry to expend upon them, and whose consequent tendencies led to the formation of middle or burgher classes. The absence also from Europe of many potent vassals, accustomed to control their sovereigns, afforded an opportunity for the latter to extend their power and prerogatives, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and which, through the protection of the Church, assisted them to abolish private warfare, and promote a more regular administration of justice. Government in general assumed more regular forms almost every where; together with security, wealth accumulated; the sea became as productive as the land: Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, as maritime republics, with the cities of the Lombard League and the Hanse Towns in the North, developed an enormous traffic, through their ships, harbours, staples, markets, ingenuity, artisans, sailors, and silken, linen, or woollen fabrics. The establishment of communities ensued, with freedom, intellect, domestic virtues, and refinement in their train; chivalry itself was christianised, lofty aspirations and magnanimous sympathies multiplied and irradiated throughout those lower though not less important portions of populations, on which the prince and the peer had been otherwise too apt to look with disdain. The mighty adversary, which in the names of Allah and Mahomet had defied the Church of the living God, and plotted its absolute overthrow, recoiled upon its own corruption and hollowness; and although dangerous for some

centuries longer, had no more any prospects of triumph. Symbolism, in its best sense, also caught some glow of sacred fire from those sunny regions and deeply religious associations which were gathered at Bethlehem and Nazareth, on the Mount of Ascension, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or on the summit of Thabor, along the Brook Cedron, the flowings of Jordan, and the margin of the Dead Sea. Thousands and ten-thousands of minds, of whom history never heard, listened to the tale of the returning Crusader, and anchored their souls less on the shifting sandbanks of the present scene; resting more than ever assured that their only real home must be in heaven, of which an earthly Jerusalem, even in its ruins, reminded them,—poor as its representative characteristic might be of the holy and apocalyptic Vision, coming down from the presence of God, and prepared as a bride adorned in celestial apparel for her admiring husband.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 850-1300.

THE GREAT COMMERCIAL REPUBLICS OF THE MIDDLE AGES, WITH A SLIGHT TERRITORIAL SKETCH OF CHRISTENDOM TO THE CLOSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY—BONIFACE THE EIGHTH.

In closing the history of the Crusades, we have had a glimpse, amongst their other consequences, of the influence which they exercised upon commerce. This had hitherto subdivided itself into two principal regions, arising out of the geographical circumstances of Europe: the northern comprehended those countries bordering on the Baltic and German Seas, and the Atlantic Ocean; the southern included all the shores of the Mediterranean. Italy, Spain, the South of France, the shores of Barbary, the Levant, and Constantinople, had for ages a traffic and intercommunications peculiar to themselves. Amalfi obtained a high position, with enormous wealth, down to her subjugation by Roger the Norman, King of Sicily. Pisa

had been distinguished from the tenth century, and preceded Genoa in fitting out naval armaments against the Saracen corsairs; within another hundred years she conquered Sardinia from the Moors, sharing out the island in districts amongst several noble families, who had embarked their capital or services in the expedition. These successful magnates became feudal vassals of the republic. Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica were acquired at a later period, and not long retained; but the transport of the soldiers of the Cross opened rich sources of lucre; there grew up a regular carrying trade, connected as to pecuniary transactions with the inland towns of the Lombard League; as bankers, the extravagant rates of usury, or interest for money, afforded them immense advantages; together with their still more remarkable contemporaries and successors, they enjoyed extensive privileges in the Christian principalities of Asia, after the sea-coasts of the ancient Phœnicia had been wrested from the Crescent. Through the warehouses of Pisa the produce of the East passed to the ruder nations of the North. Before A.D. 1282 she had added Corsica and Elba to her insular territories; whilst her factories at Ptolemais were some of the most extensive and opulent in Palestine. Her cathedral was the wonder of its time,—that of Hildebrand; the leaning tower, the baptistery, the arcades of the Campo Santo, are of later date, yet still prior to the residence of the Popes at Avignon. Her first conflict with Genoa seems to have occurred about A.D. 1120, from which year there ensued a struggle of interests and arms, more or less, for nearly a couple of centuries. Such contests, although to be deplored, no doubt brace the nerves and energies of those engaged in them. A naval engagement off the little isle of Meloria, in A.D. 1284, may be styled her death-blow; thirty years afterwards her dominions melted away. The crown of Arragon acquired Sardinia, and her commerce dwindled with her greatness. Grown haughty, as well as wealthy, her efforts and predilections had been exerted on the side of the Ghibellines. The rising states of Milan and Florence fought over the defunct remainder of her political existence; and in the fifteenth century, for a sum

of 400,000 florins, the once affluent city of Pisa merged, amidst useless resistance, into the fortunes of the house of Medici.

Her great rival, Genoa, might feel something like certain superiority perhaps from the commencement of the thirteenth century. When Corsica had permanently fallen under her power, she maintained the government with decision, and for a protracted period. Her continental sea-board of Liguria was much more extensive and valuable than the slip of Italian coast held by her competitor; it was, however, the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks in A.D. 1261 which more advanced her commercial and maritime prosperity. Jealous of the Venetians, by whose enterprise the Latin emperors had been placed, and were still maintained, upon the Oriental throne, the Genoese assisted Michael Palæologus in overturning that usurpation; they obtained, in consequence, the suburb of Pera, or Galata, over against the Golden Horn, as an exclusive settlement, where their colony was ruled by a magistrate sent from home, whose arrogance frequently defied the capital, and even overawed it, with his armed galleys and intrepid sailors. From this advantageous station Genoa extended her traffic into the Euxine, and established her principal factory at Caffa in the Crimea; her industry supplied the Byzantine population with fish and corn, the former caught at the mouth of the Don, the latter supplied from the harvests of the Ukraine; a laborious overland route to India, by the waters of the Tanais, the Volga, the Caspian, and the Oxus, procured the jewels, spices, and lighter fine fabrics of the Punjaub, and, after a march of three months, the Carizmian caravans communicated with Italian vessels in the great haven of the Tauric Chersonnesus. Caffa grew to such an extent as to comprehend within its limits and suburbs forty-four thousand houses, and to be called Crim Stamboul; a chain of fortifications commanded the adjacent shores, silenced their native inhabitants into submission, and repelled the Tartars. But the admirals of Genoa had more potent adversaries to deal with in the Doges of Venice than in the Podestas of Pisa. Two fearful wars, in A.D. 1258 and A.D. 1293, exhausted

both republics. Some of the galliots seem to have been of stupendous size, at least in that age,—their naval architects might well then fancy them floating fortresses; but in the long run, it must be admitted that the Queen of the Adriatic was to illustrate the more glorious career; her history arches over the interval between ancient and modern annals; and the fugitives who fled from Attila in the fifth age laid the foundation of a republic upon their hundred isles destined to expire, after a millennium of fame, amidst the frowns of a French Directory. It had long been the policy of the city to attach itself to that party on the continent which appeared to promise the most powerful protection for its liberties; hence the magnanimous spirit with which Alexander III. received secular support in his efforts on behalf of freedom, made against Frederic Barbarossa. The constitution of the republic had an early origin; it might be said to have been built upon the waves, or, at least, upon four insular marshes, each of which in the beginning could actually boast of a separate government; nor was it until these, and a number more, had come to render the lagunes rather populous, that they united in time of war, under a common leader, Paulutius Anafestus, who, being invested with the supreme power for life, was, in fact, the first doge or duke, A.D. 709, or, according to some, twelve years earlier. This office long remained as elective as any other municipal mayoralty, assisted subsequently by the formation of a regular council, comprising 480 members; these were selected by general suffrage, but through intermediate tribunes, from the entire body of citizens, and administered in separate committees the financial and judicial affairs of state. The entire system passing into various changes, gradually took the form of a jealous aristocracy,—a political Argus all over eyes,—esteeming espionage as the element of its existence. The fourth crusade aggrandised its commercial influence, as we have already seen; and in the apportionment of spoil, Henry Dandolo endowed his maternal republic with three-eighths of Constantinople, and an equal proportion of the provinces. By fortunate purchases she also enhanced considerably the value of her share; so that

it came in the end to include Candia, Corfu, and the other Ionian possessions, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyros, Cea, and Lemnos. The bronze horses of Lysippus were also amongst her trophies.

Before these events, however, her navies had encountered the Saracens, the Sclavonians, and the Normans; nor had the Saxon Othos ceased to reign when Dalmatia acknowledged her sway. There were several Greek cities upon this coast which the empire had ceased to protect, and which, like Venice herself, became republics for want of a master; Ragusa was one of these. Their submission, indeed, was sufficiently uncertain, since their own domestic rebellions, or the ambition of the neighbouring kings of Hungary, every now and then shook or loosened the grasp of the Doge; who, nevertheless, styled himself duke of their country. His political and mercantile grandeur meanwhile daily increased; no Christian state preserved so considerable an intercourse with the Mahometans. Genoa, indeed, held the keys of the Black Sea; but her competitor indemnified herself at Alexandria, and the more easy traffic with Hindostan, by way of the Nile and the Straits of Babelmandel, brought a flood of affluence into her coffers. Even the Euxine was not altogether closed to her merchants; she had a settlement in the Crimea, and possessed some of the trade through Tartary. The route to China was from Azoff to Astrachan; and thence by a variety of places, no longer found in our maps, to Pekin or Cambalu; the journey occupying about eight months going and returning. Religion was not forgotten in these enterprises; Innocent IV. sent out John du Plant Carpin, with five or six Franciscan friars, in A.D. 1246, to the Grand Khan at Caracorum, partly as envoys and partly as missionaries. St. Louis accredited Father Rubriquis in the same character seven years afterwards, who came back by the Euphrates to Tripoli in Syria. Marco Polo, the celebrated traveller, seems to have crossed the vast regions of Central Asia, taking Scanderoon as his starting-point. In all, or most of these cases, it was the divining-rod of the Venetian republic which marked their protracted courses. The Chinese had been acquainted for generations

with the polarity of the magnet; and, probably through some such channel as a wandering Italian adventurer, European mariners derived the knowledge, and availed themselves of it in navigation. The story of its discovery by a citizen at Amalfi, in the fourteenth century, is a vulgar fable; since, besides the clear evidence of Guiot de Provins, about the period of the fourth or fifth Crusade, Edrissi, a Saracen geographer, mentions it; and he flourished A.D. 1100. Windmills and the compass appear to have attracted attention in the West nearly in the same century, and were both among the consequences of more frequent intercourse with the Orient. Some of the French seaports bordering on the Gulf of Lyons partook of its advantages. Marseilles could hardly ever have lost her Phœnician traditions: and Narbonne, Nismes, and Montpelier, backed by their fertile regions of Languedoc, claimed a share with Genoa and Pisa of the Mediterranean commerce. Barcelona and the Catalans were also commencing a prosperous career, quickened by the introduction of silk into Sicily, by Roger Guiscard, at Palermo, in A.D. 1148; in the next age this became a staple manufacture of the Lombards and Tuscans, whose laws formally enforced the cultivation of mulberries. Woollen and linen fabrics multiplied every where and amongst all classes above the menial or serf; some plants of the sugar-cane had been brought from Asia, and followed the track of the silkworm, from the foot of Mount Etna into the southern provinces of Spain; but it was from the Adriatic and Genoese Riviera, principally, that the traffic began on any thing like a large scale with Bruges and the Hanse Towns. In Germany, after the death of Frederic II., Walpode, an opulent burgher of Mayence, united various cities on the Rhine, from the Alps to the efflux of the Maine, in a league for their common defence against usury, unlawful imposts, and robbery by land or water. Shortly before this combination, the example of Hamburg and Lubeck, A.D. 1241, had occasioned the confederation of all the lower German and northern commercial towns in the great Hanseatic League. They were upwards of sixty in number; holding their regular sessions at Worms, Mentz, and

Strasbourg; and soon increased in extent to more than eighty, comprising Cologne, Brunswick, Dantzig, Erfurt, and Bremen, with associations in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod. Little correct knowledge of the Baltic prevailed when William and his Normans were meditating their expedition against Harold. Adam of Bremen, a learned man for those times, had no idea, or scarcely any, that Russia could be reached by that sea; amongst whose islands, moreover, he reckoned Esthonia and Courland! The fact is, that Danish and Norwegian piracies had extinguished the light of scientific information, until the maritime regions of Mecklenburg and Pomerania were subdued by some of the German princes. Subsequently to this the Teutonic order, having conquered Prussia, extended the lines of at least comparative civilisation to the confines of Finland, where it blended with the intellectual aurora borealis of Muscovy and Iceland. The Cimbric peninsula, with Holstein and Riga in Livonia, emerge into notice about the same time; and Königsburg was then founded by Ottocar, king of Bohemia. From such sources originated the opulence of northern commerce. The Hanseatic Union made itself a power of no second-rate importance; through London and Bruges, Italians and Spaniards transported oriental produce to markets not far short of Permia and Archangel; and as sailing was sufficiently slow and dangerous, intermediate stations, or staples, as they were styled, became necessary. Flanders offered enormous facilities for this purpose,—through the industry of her inhabitants, the convenience of her sites, the easy means of constructing roads and canals, and the amount of her woollen manufactories. Her Count Baldwin, A.D. 958, had established markets at Bruges and other cities. The raw material was imported from England, and worked up by the Flemings; so that an author of the thirteenth century affirms that all the world was clothed from English fleeces wrought in Flanders. The herring-fisheries alone constituted a mine of wealth to the Scandinavian communities, just as the sturgeons of the Don and Borysthenes were to the curers of salt-fish at Caffa. The coasts of Schonen exchanged their bloaters

for gold and silver, for silks and sugars, for purple, scarlet, and fine linen. Bruges, at last, almost emulated Tyre itself; she was the link of intercommunication between the Hanse Towns and the Mediterranean, for the ingenious productions of the Netherlands, or the bulky stores of Sweden, Denmark, Rugen, and Thorn, as well as for the Indian rarities, and beautiful fabrics of the Levant, the Egean, Africa, Italy, or Catalonia. It was this felicitous action and re-action of wants and wishes, of necessities and supplies, of advantages and inventions, which engendered the germs of our own future greatness,—without a parallel, as that was one day to be, in the modern development of nations.

England, however, had hitherto played but a very secondary part in the world of commerce or the drama of history. When the concentrated kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy had fallen beneath the Norman sword, the conqueror exacted the services of vassals even for allodial estates; so that the great thanes were degraded, from the rank of comrades to the sovereign, into that of his subjects. The feudal system was introduced, with all its horrors and few of its picturesque alleviations. Wars were no longer to be carried on, according to the resolutions of the Wittenegemote, or Parliament of Wise Men, but at the behests of a master and a tyrant; the whole of England, with relation to its military constitution, was divided into 60,000 fiefs, each appropriated to the support of a knight. The entire aspect of society put on a new face, as compared with the noble days of Alfred the Great or Edward the Confessor; even Canute and his Danes could have been more easily tolerated than the illegitimate descendants of Rollo, or at least so it seemed,—the former, at all events, had betaken themselves to the waves and were gone, but the latter displayed their determination to build nests in the country. Wood and water had become regal possessions,—of which our game-laws still retain some unhappy vestiges; and the curfew extinguished hope. Rufus, or the Red King, never dreamed of mitigating the yoke; but Henry I. happily found himself under the necessity of seeking to conciliate the nation, all writhing and boiling

as it was with scarcely suppressed indignation. Equally advantageous in its effects was the contest for the succession, which ensued between Stephen of Boulogne, the nephew of the last king, and his grandson, Henry of Anjou, as well as the humiliating misfortunes to which the latter was reduced. It seems not a little singular that, whilst the Normans in Italy proved themselves amongst the best champions of the Church, the Normans in England were always ready to be just the reverse, whenever opportunity offered. The embryo of an ecclesiastical rebellion was visible at a very early period; and the bearing of the Conqueror himself towards St. Gregory had been any thing but really respectful. Under our second Henry, the famous constitutions of Clarendon, analogous as they were with the evil spirit of the age, arose out of what had preceded them, quite as much as they became the sources of what followed. The persecutor of St. Thomas à Becket prided himself upon his worldly wisdom, which had for its object an exaltation of the regal prerogative over the souls and bodies of his people. To effect the first, he would fain have humbled the clergy; and with a view to the second, he damped their military ardour, by permitting them to purchase exemption from military service. His well-merited flagellation at Canterbury typified the temporary check which the Church happened to be then able to give to the growth of state tyranny; whilst the domestic dissensions of his sons, fomented by his consort, the heiress of Guienne, counteracted the effects of other parts of his policy. His grandfather had shown that he could be as false as his descendant. When wishing to set aside his brother Robert, he assembled his vassals, and thus addressed them: "I, whom you know to be just, solemnly pledge myself to you, both my foreign and home-born subjects, to respect your liberties, and patiently listen to your prudent counsels, if you will only stand by me. Whenever you desire it, I swear to observe the laws which St. Edward, of pious memory, not without the help of God, established in these realms." With the abolition of the curfew, however, and some of the most burdensome feudal ordinances, the cheated people were obliged to remain

satisfied. The relics of the good Confessor still attracted thousands to his shrine, and his Anglo-Saxon liberties lay deep in their memories; but although similar promises illustrated the reign of each successive sovereign, from the battle of Hastings to the last lying Plantagenet, the throne was disgraced by broken promises and violated obligations. A more legitimate feature in the career of Henry II. was his attempt to gain respect for his crown by an equitable administration of justice. Our provincial assizes derive their origin from this period; he also favoured the towns, and encouraged their markets. Metaphorically speaking, there were acorns sown, to grow into oaks afterwards. Despots are seldom remarkable for the gift of long-sightedness.

Through the aid of sums paid by the nobles for their military exemptions, mercenaries were hired, which served the monarch unconditionally. Together with the feudal array of such as appeared in person rather than in purse, 60,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry constituted an army which overawed the country, maintained the palatinates of Chester, Pembroke, Durham, and Hexham, on the marches or frontiers of Wales and Scotland, and enabled Strongbow to annex Ireland, at least nominally, to the dominions of Henry, A.D. 1170-7. The blessed labours of St. Patrick, in the fifth century, had illuminated that island with the light and warmth of true religion; so that for a felicitous interval, previous to the desolating incursions of the Northmen, it proved an asylum for piety and learning; whilst the Roman empire was breaking up into fragments, or bending beneath the blasts of Arianism. Tanistry and the Brehon laws prevailed in all the four or five divisions of Leinster, North and South Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. Their sea-ports possessed some commerce; Dublin is spoken of as a sort of rival to London. The wines of Languedoc, through Bordeaux probably, were imported in exchange for hides. Among the rural population pasturage predominated over agriculture; restraint and labour were deemed the worst of evils, freedom and indolence the most desirable comforts. The women and children must have been as lovely as at present; elegant in form,

florid in complexion, graceful and modest in manner, and satisfied with scanty habiliments. The weapons of the men were a short lance, or two javelins, a sword about fifteen inches long, and a hatchet of steel; their houses and churches were ingeniously constructed of timber and wicker-work. In temper they are described as irascible and inconstant; towards friends fervid and affectionate, towards foes faithless and vindictive. Music was the accomplishment most highly favoured amongst them; and even a Welshman has the honesty to allow, that the harp of Erin might bear away the prize from that of Cambria. Invasion, and civil warfare had, of course, corrupted the Irish as well as the English; their episcopal sees seem to have been retained in certain families, so that the clergy got secularised and deteriorated; whilst, through their want of canonical discipline, the people lapsed into every sort of immorality. The Popes, however, about the age of Hildebrand, had effected considerable reformation. It was thought, indeed, that the monastic foundations had somewhat interfered with parochial requirements; so that the regular clergy, naturally keeping to their rules in cloister, allowed their flocks to remain more at large than appeared conducive to the prevalence of practical piety amongst the laity. Yet their attachment to the Holy Church of Rome never quailed; nor was it without a view to their best interests that the Pontiff Adrian sanctioned their annexation to England. How far the usurpations of Henry II. and his successors may have proved beneficial or otherwise to Ireland, must remain a question far too extensive and important for discussion in these pages. The Erse, or native Irish dialect, was a branch of the Celtic, blended with a good many words and idioms from the old Iberian or Phœnician colonists. With respect to the Scots, identified as they are by the writers of antiquity with the inhabitants of Ireland, it is only necessary to remark that, visiting Caledonia in very early times, they first made a final settlement there in the ninth century; that is to say, in the wild regions north of the Clyde and Forth. The country south of these limits was divided into Galloway and Lothian. This territory formed a section of the ancient

Northumberland, peopled by Saxons, with a mixture of Danes. Their chieftains were perpetually employed in maintaining their independence against the Normans and English. The sons of Henry II. endeavoured to consolidate their paternal inheritance with various results. Richard obtained fame in Palestine, and a prison on his homeward journey; yet his memory stands connected, justly or otherwise, with the maritime laws of Oleron, founded on the Rhodian code. John, his feeble and pusillanimous brother, nearly lost Ireland, as well as Normandy. Through his fortunate folly, regal despotism received a blow from which it never thoroughly recovered; and the barons of England, under the sanction of the Church, A.D. 1214, compelled him to promulgate the Magna Charta,—the basis of British freedom. There were, at this eventful era, 1115 castles of the nobility, scattered like the strongholds of highwaymen throughout the realm; nor any better than titled robbers would their proprietors have proved, had it not been for the Pope and his prelates.

The celebrated Magna Charta forms the first of a series of ordinances, whereby the rights of person and property in these islands have come to be clearly defined. It directs that the judicial court shall be fixed in one place; that no subject can be deprived of his goods, country, or life, without a trial according to the common laws of the land, before sworn arbiters selected from his own rank. It hedges round the possession of liberty, the enjoyment of fortune, the privileges of ecclesiastics, the security of elections, with the talismanic protection of distinct and regular enactment; no impost could be levied by the crown without the consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and great barons of the empire personally assembled, and of the inferior vassals, who held immediately of the sovereign, summoned according to districts by the sheriffs or bailiffs. In A.D. 1263, it appears from Selden, that 150 temporal, and fifty spiritual peers, were called upon to perform the service due by their tenures. These traces of representation are the first that occur since the Anglo-Saxon times. Under Henry III. they multiply, until the British Parliament begins to rise out of obscurity and insignificance. As the

monarchs got poor and weak, and as the lower classes enriched themselves through trade or industry, the third estate of the Commons grew more and more important in the country. Their influence, moreover, came to be connected with, and strengthened by, domestic ideas and habits. Attachment to hearth and home struck deep root into the national mind, from the cottage to the castle, when the Crusaders, and some of their associations had terminated; the noble himself, shut up in his castle, and cut off from intercourse with towns, was thrown after the fatigues of the chase into a thousand ramifications of endearment springing from his hall or fireside. Hence virtuous women, and sweet children, came to be the visible angels of daily life; so essentially different from the circumstances of Greece and ancient Rome, where civilised existence was almost from necessity of a civic or public character,—the baths, the forum, or the basilica, afforded the chief sources of society: whilst in England, favoured perhaps by its insular position, the family principle, if one may call it so, has flourished more than in any country of the earth; every Englishman must have a house to himself if he possibly can. In those days, A.D. 1265, when parliamentary writs were first issued by Simon de Montfort, the city of London, fortified by high walls and numerous towers, was situated on the banks of its river, in a tract beautifully diversified with woods, meadows, and gardens. Adjoining it, on the Thames, was that venerable fortress of its kings, which is still standing. It was already beginning to be a great commercial city, whither Arabian Spaniards imported purple and spiceries from the east and south, Normans brought their iron and arms, Russians their peltry. The Sundays, after Mass, were devoted to martial exercises among the younger citizens; and holidays were often celebrated by the representation of a sea-fight. Bear-baiting, falcons, and cocks, set to tear each other in pieces, were favourite amusements; and in regaining any fragments of lost freedom, the permission to share in the pursuit or slaughter of game most gratified the rural yeomanry. Simon, Earl of Leicester, had no other wish, in *contracting* the royal prerogative, than to aggrandise him-

self, or perhaps his own order; but the great abilities of Prince Edward propped up the tottering throne, whilst St. Louis and the Pope mediated a pacification. As to religion, the mendicant-friars were endeavouring to arouse the national apathy, much to the annoyance of the secular hierarchy and clergy, whose wealth and endowments had swollen into enormous dimensions. The zeal and fervour of the new orders rendered them naturally popular; yet, being looked upon by worldly pluralists as the pillars of the Papal power, an outcry came to be every now and then raised against Rome, favoured by those who feared the reformation of abuses; as also by others, whose appetite for spiritual plunder was already formed. Symptoms of that state of things which gave Wyckliffe importance in the fourteenth, and Archbishop Cranmer full and most disastrous potency in the sixteenth century, could not be altogether hidden from discerning observation even before the accession of Edward I. This monarch, on his return from the Holy Land, was affectionately received by Gregory X. at Orvieto, in February, A.D. 1273; but, although in his subsequent intercourse with the Chair of St. Peter he paid the annual allowance which John had commenced, his government was evidently flowing with the stream. He and his subjects might still respect Catholicity; yet they loved their own pride, pelf, and power much more. He conquered Scotland and Wales, availing himself, as to the former, of the disputes between the houses of Bruce and Baliol: his Holiness Boniface VIII. claimed his just and paramount authority over the Caledonian kingdom, as a fief of the Church of God, A.D. 1299.

The Papacy was most ably administered by the successors of Innocent III. They carried out his policy perfectly; maturing the growth of freedom in the Germanic towns and cantons and in the various Italian republics, assuaging the local disorders of the ecclesiastical states, preserving the realms of the West from Teutonic despotism, and endeavouring to reconcile, so far as it was then possible, the Greek and Latin communions. On the extinction of the Hohenstaufens, Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, had been invested with Naples and Sicily.

He had also been nominated Vicar-General for the Holy See in Tuscany; and the decline of the Ghibellines may be dated from the death of Conradin, the last Swabian. Thus placed therefore at the head of the Guelfs, with the Church and populace on his side, he began to aspire at a sovereignty over all Italy. During the interregnum following upon the decease of Frederic II., the imperial authority south of the Alps was altogether suspended. The French prince, moreover, possessed many of the vices, without any of the virtues of his family, being avaricious, as well as ambitious, artful, haughty, and inconstant. Absolute master of his native appanage Provence, and titular Senator of the Capitol, he meditated not merely the assumption of a German diadem, but an attack upon the Greek Empire. His Sicilian subjects meanwhile abhorred him, groaning as they were under innumerable fiscal and military oppressions. At Naples, where his predecessors had occasionally boiled some unhappy victim alive in a cauldron of oil, the presence of the tyrant who wore their mantle might for the moment repress complaint; yet John of Procida, once lord of that small island on which the gaze of the traveller rests between Ischia and Misenum, having forfeited this inheritance through attachment to the house of Hohenstaufen, resolved upon an attempt at revenge. He may be termed the model of political agents, and the very genius of a dark lantern. He passed as a spy, in all sorts of disguises, throughout the whole country, from Messina to Syracuse and Trapani, visiting the stronghold of each baron or vassal where assistance might be gained for his cause; thence proceeding with equal secrecy to the courts of Constantinople, Saragossa, and Rome; obtaining at the last, from Pope Nicholas III., a transfer of the fiefs of St. Peter to the crown of Arragon; and then concerting with the astronomer Brunetti, of Romagna, his signal for the Sicilian Vespers. On the vigil of Easter, A.D. 1282, an outrage perpetrated at Palermo led to the massacre of 8000 Frenchmen. Charles of Anjou was astonished and confounded; his dreams melted away. The Arragonese appeared off Palermo. John of Procida directed the

flames of a general insurrection, terminating in the annexation, by Spanish monarchs, of the isles of the Mediterranean. War broke out immediately between Philip the Third of France, on behalf of his uncle Charles, and Peter the Third, king of Aragon, who had married Constance, the daughter of Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick the Second, and the usurper of Naples and Sicily for twelve years, A.D. 1254-1266. The unfortunate Conradin, at his execution, was said to have thrown his glove amongst the multitude, with a message intimating it a confirmation of the Aragonese claims. Peter, as husband of Constance, armed his Catalan subjects in the cause. His efforts ended in a series of mortifications being inflicted upon his rival, leading ultimately to his disgrace and death from vexation; and to the transient settlement of James, his second son, on the Sicilian throne. The house of Anjou retained the kingdom of Naples. Alfonso, the eldest son of the third Peter, succeeded his father at Saragossa; but upon his death without issue, James assumed the crown of Aragon, and renounced that of Sicily, which passed in consequence to his younger brother Frederick. The Spanish Catalans meanwhile directed their arms against the Greek empire, devastating the shores of the Hellespont, or insulting the majesty of Constantinople.

In turning for a few moments to the Iberian peninsula, we are struck with the singular contest maintained for so many generations between the Moslem and the Christians in that country. Spain seems to present a microcosm of its own, analogous to the variations of that mighty struggle, commencing in the seventh century, between the Crescent and the Cross,—between Moors and Rome. When the first invasion of the Saracens had broken in pieces the Visigothic kingdom, every man who had escaped the great shipwreck of liberty and religion in the mountains of Asturias felt himself to be an important individual, since not a single arm could be overlooked in the efforts of such a handful of heroes to re-establish their faith and policy. Hence is derived that external elevation of manner and character so commonly observed in the Castilians. The Arabian monarchs of Cordova, amidst all their magnifi-

ficence and refinement, could never permanently retard that development of decay and effeminacy which are inherent in oriental institutions. Their gorgeous sultany separated through rebellions, more or less prosperous, into the states of Toledo, Huesca, Saragossa, and others, whilst the descendants of that gallant thousand of warriors, A.D. 718, who in the caverns of our Blessed Lady of Cabadonga had dared to acknowledge Pelayo for their chieftain, were concentrating their energies, and laying afresh the foundations of dominion. The earliest Christian kingdom assumed the name of Orviedo, the seat of which was removed to Leon, A.D. 914, extending its boundaries to the Douro and Guadarrama. At the foot of the Pyrenees also there sprang up the little realm of Navarre; the small town of Jaca, nestled among its southern ridges, expanded into the monarchy of Aragon; the province of old Castile grew from a county into a kingdom, absorbing its neighbour of Leon as time rolled on, until at last Alonzo the Sixth recovered its ancient metropolis, the city of Toledo. Aragon also culminated with equal rapidity, enlarging her limits to the Ebro, and in A.D. 1118, acquiring Saragossa. Burgos, Osma, Sepulveda, and Salamanca, were founded in the tenth century as free settlements, where warriors of the right religion, in a subsequent age, formed their chartered communities, pretty much as the walls of Jerusalem had been built under Esdras and Nehemias, with their industry in one hand and their valour in the other. Feudalism, with its iron accessories, never prevailed throughout Spain as it did in France, although villenage existed in some quarters; and the three military orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcantara formed a wealthy and ostentatious chivalry like that of the Holy Land. The free cities, however, preserved too many elements of genuine freedom to permit knights, nobles, or kings to ride roughshod over either burgesses or peasantry. Ferdinand III., in A.D. 1238, reunited for ever the two principal branches of the Gothic royal families. As sovereign of Castile and Leon, he overran Andalusia, captured Cordova in A.D. 1236, and, adding Seville to his trophies, swept the Moors from their favourite regions on the banks of the Gaudalquiver. James I.

of Aragon, already mentioned, reduced the capital and kingdom of Valencia, the Balearic isles, and Murcia; which last, according to compact, was added to Castile. It is remarkable, that from this time the tide of success seems to pause, although, happily, not to turn; but the Moors, driven up into a corner, as it were, again gathered up their energies with redoubled fanaticism. Their population had got concentrated into a smaller compass, yet still occupying some of the richest portions of the Peninsula. Persecutions and misfortunes made the furnace of religious opposition glow into the reddest heat; the strong fortresses of Gibraltar, Algeziras, and Tariffa frowned more portentously than ever upon the storm of war; and there were warm allies to the Spanish Mahommedans, in the Abuhafides and Merinides of Tunis and Morocco, beyond the Straits. The Saracens of Africa not merely supplied corn and dates to the south of Europe, but myriads of the bravest Moslem crossed from the coasts of Barbary to uphold their waning superstition in Granada. As merchants, they also continued to augment the wealth and influence of Islamism. They exported cattle, corn, manufactures, tapestry, works of glass, and several sorts of honey and resin. These productions found their way from the warehouses of Tolometta, Biserta, and Alexandria. Al-Gazayari, which we corrupt into Algiers, had its establishment about this period, as also Telemsan, along its beautiful river; and Odegast, on the borders of the uninhabitable desert, with its singular remains of fair Vandalic population amidst the swarthy complexions and woolly hair of its neighbours. Ceuta was fortified, and Tunis most superbly decorated from the ruins of ancient Carthage. Every youth was instructed in the use of arms, from the cradle upwards. Rocks, wildernesses, and ramparts secured their towns; and the nature of gunpowder was known to them long before Europe became acquainted with it. The wisdom of St. Louis may thus be better understood when he assented to an enterprise against Africa, which, had it succeeded, would have so materially relieved and assisted Christendom. Similar motives might have actuated those crusaders (A.D. 1147) who, on their voyage to Palestine,

helped Don Alfonzo, the sovereign of Portugal, to wrest the mouth of the Tagus from the infidels. The father of this prince had his origin from the counts of Upper Burgundy. His name was Henry; and he had espoused an illegitimate daughter of the Castilian king, who had taken Toledo, A.D. 1080. In fact, the conqueror had awarded him this prize for his prowess during the siege. With indefatigable courage he then subdued, on his own account, the country between the Minho and Douro, together with the town of Oporto. His son emulated his fame, generally acting with his royal kinsmen of Castile, until so alarmed had the Moslem become, that they united their various forces on the field of Ourique, A.D. 1139. Alfonzo, perceiving that he was at least out-numbered, remembered Gideon, one of the judges of Israel, passed many hours in earnest prayer, and then fell asleep. In a dream he beheld a venerable hermit inviting him to his cell; and when morning dawned, an elderly anchorite, exactly like the form he had seen in his slumbers, requested a private interview on the next night. Resorting to the spot appointed, a resplendent vision of the Saviour appeared to him; assured him that he should rule as king over his people, and that for sixteen generations the divine favour should not forsake his posterity,—nor even then, as the apparition added. He gained within a few days so overwhelming a victory, that he was saluted with a crown after the engagement. In this manner was settled the kingdom of Portugal, a region which may be described as the Phœnicia of the Atlantic Ocean. The reign of Alfonzo was protracted and glorious; Lisbon became his metropolis, around which he acquired the territories of Beira, Estremadura, and Alemtajo, to which his son Sancho added the Algarves, A.D. 1189; assisted, again, by pilgrims to Jerusalem from England, Friesland, and Holland. Alfonzo was as tall as Charlemagne, with a long visage; large, black, and fiery eyes; a wide mouth and red hair; with something amiss, as the chronicles tell us, about his legs. Hideous, however, as he might be in person, he had a royal and religious mind. His reverence for the Pope was filial and undeviating, down to his death in A.D. 1185. Mingled as

the history and politics of Portugal henceforward were with those of its sister states in Spain, they presented altogether, amidst the ebb and flow of various fortune, so fair and firm a front towards the votaries of the Koran, that churches and monasteries were every where supplanting mosques, from Biscay to Barcelona, and from the Pyrenees to Cape St. Vincent, throughout the thirteenth century.

Next to the position of the Christian states with respect to their Moorish adversaries, one of the most important circumstances which preceded the removal of the Popes to Avignon was the rise of the house of Hapsburg. Among the dukes of the ancient Allemanni, there was a royal commissary, named Ethico, in the age of the Merovingians. He had two sons, from one of whom the great family of Lorraine descended; from the other the ancestors of the Austrian emperors. The latter lost their feudal domains, and with difficulty preserved their hereditary estates, under the early Othos. Hapsburg was founded soon after these misfortunes, A.D. 1020. Within two centuries and a half, Rudolph, its liege lord and representative, had acquired by his boldness, talents, and popular manners the esteem of all ranks. The extinction of the Hohenstauffens had produced an interregnum; during which the navigable waters in Germany, and, indeed, the whole face of the country, were exposed to the predatory excursions of noble dwellers in innumerable fortresses. There was no king of the Romans, no duke of Swabia, Franconia, or Austria, and no landgrave of Thuringia. The entire extent of territory from the Alps to the Danube groaned for a supreme government; and so, with nearly universal consent, Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, accepted the diadem, A.D. 1273. All the realms enumerated fell under his sceptre, or that of his successors connected with his own dynasty; although, after his decease, a considerable interval elapsed before the purple came to be considered as a permanent appendage to the family. He compelled Ottocar, king of Bohemia, to acknowledge his feudal subordination, which included also Moravia, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia. On the death of that warrior, after the battle of Marchfeld, A.D. 1278, his son and heir, the young Bohemian prince Wenceslauf, married the beau-

tiful daughter of the victorious emperor, who had now come into possession, from his mother, of Kiburg, Baden, and Lenzburg, besides his patrimonial inheritances in Upper Alsace and Swabia. Lucern, Frieburg, Seckingen, with other scattered domains and districts, acquired by compact or purchase, strengthened his hands. Thuringia, Meissen, and Hessia formed a rich landgraviate, of Saxon origin, famous for the market of Leipsig, established A.D. 1157, and for mines of the precious metals, so productive, that, at the splendid tournament held at Nordhausen, A.D. 1236, there was a tree exhibited of massive silver, with golden apples among its branches. Rudolph ruled well, his invaluable characteristics being a large amount of sound sense, and a just appreciation of the difficulties in which he was placed. He looked upon opportunities as the flowers and fruits of time, and knew exactly when and how to gather them himself, or allow them to ripen for others. In Italy he manifested consummate wisdom, conceding to various cities, for solid sums of money, vague and uncertain prerogatives, pregnant to himself, had he insisted on retaining them, with nothing beyond perplexity and mortification. He surrendered Romagna to the Popes, as also any imperial supremacy that his predecessors might have claimed over dominions already granted to the Holy See. Nicholas III. and his successors evidently favoured the new emperor cordially as well as ecclesiastically, discerning in his power and prudence a wholesome counterpoise to the ambitious projects of Charles of Anjou. With equal caution Rudolph watched and managed the house of Wittelsbach, seated at Munich, in Bavaria; that of Lorraine, with its indefinite and diminishing limits; that of Saxony, consolidating into one of the most considerable of the electorates; that of Brunswick and Lunenburg, somewhat dwindled from the pride of Henry the Lion, but with a destiny then little anticipated; and that of Brandenburg, afterwards to develope into the military kingdom of Prussia. The Netherlands were exulting in the wealth and felicity of freedom and commerce; Denmark was overawing the small courts of northern Germany, as though the genius of Canute the Great still continued to ride upon the storms

of the Baltic; Mecklenburg was an acknowledged fief of the Danish crown, recognised as such by Rudolph: Pomerania was so sometimes, her fortunes varying with the abilities of her sovereigns. The counts of Schaumburg, in Holstein, also threatened to become potent, as did Silesia, Livonia, and Esthonia. A branch of the Piasts, from Poland, had helped to civilise the first; and the Wendish Breslau owed its prosperity to Peter Ulast, who erected seventy-seven churches for the service of its different districts, A.D. 1253. The two last received the Gospel, and with it civil amelioration, through the efforts of Albert, Bishop of Riga, who, under the authority of Innocent III., metamorphosed the soldiers of the Cross and Sword into the pastors, conquerors, and lawgivers of these rude regions. The Teutonic knights, with their grand-masters, had converted their pagan subjects, from Masovia to Courland, before the close of the thirteenth century. Poland itself was molested on one side by Russians or Tartars, and on the other by analogous or kindred Sclavonian tribes. She had, nevertheless, assumed the royal dignity; Premislaus II. being the earliest Piast, as it would appear, who substituted the regal for the ducal title, A.D. 1295. It required the conjunction of Lithuania, in later times, to give the nation any real importance; yet the successor of the Czar Alexander Newski had fled to the throne of the Polish Piasts for protection from the Mongols, and a tribute was thenceforward paid to the khan of the golden horde by the house of Rurik for 220 years. It consisted of the skins of a species of squirrel, then used for small currency; for coined money had got so scarce, that cities ransomed themselves from plunder with five rix-dollars. Novogorod alone was at this time civilised or independent, enjoying its industry and opulence beneath the shadow of the Hanseatic alliance. Sweden was expending her vitals in dissension, deriving, with Norway, whatever twilight might fall to her share through the beneficence of the Popes, who settled a university at Skenning, A.D. 1219, and ordained that schools should be attached to all the greater churches. Her monastery of Wadstena collected more than 2000 manuscripts in its library, and attained the same rank in

Scandinavia which Bangor held among the Britons, or St. Galle among the Germans. They escaped the Mongolian tempest, which swept over the snows of Siberia, the steppes of Tartary, the plains between the Volga and the Borysthenes, over the capital of Poland, and the fairest provinces of Hungary. The house of Árpad, which four centuries before had conducted the Magyars into their Carpathian territories, expired in the person of Andrew III., A.D. 1301. Rudolph could only survey the results of these disasters with commiseration, not unmingled with dismay. There was nothing to be done but to wait for better times. Meanwhile, nearer home, the princes of Nassau, Luxembourg, and Savoy seemed to be laying trains of policy which might undermine or retard, at a future day, the foundations and welfare of his own family, although against such consequences he had done his best to provide. He died in advanced age, A.D. 1291, having conferred the greatest benefits upon society through the restoration of order and tranquillity.

Within a period of about three years afterwards, one of the most calumniated pontiffs in history ascended the papal throne; upon whose perturbed yet magnanimous career the more complete information and impartiality of modern research has recently shed the brightest lustre. Boniface VIII. was an ecclesiastical hero, who had no idea of lowering the voice of authority, to fall in with the growing insubordination of those nominal children of the Church whose spirit in reality identified itself with the present world. His feeling was, that by virtue of his high office he had been constituted the shepherd of all pastors, and the president of all Christendom. A colossal conviction moved him to act accordingly, for the restoration and preservation of universal peace and the repression of abuses; more especially when they enjoyed the patronage of robbers in purple, and wicked men in high places. His faculties appeared as though they were summed up in a resolution to govern without fear or favour; and as it was the will of Almighty God that, instead of succeeding like Hildebrand, he should seem to fail for the moment, cowardice and triumphant royalism caught at the opportunity, and

combined to hinder its currency. The jubilee of the famous Jubilee of A.D. 1300, of which such numbers availed themselves, that Rome throughout that year is said never to have been without 200,000 pilgrims in addition to its native population. A necessity seemed to exist. See had, however, got abroad amongst many nations, and in France. Philip the Fair, who had treated its own subjects in the manner of contempt, resolved to fill its coffers from the well-replenished purses of the monarchy. Protestantism is perfectly ready to allow that its existence was a tissue of injustice; only, at the same time, upon so large a scale as to approach the almost sublime majesty of a later Reformation. The Pope, moreover, had been induced to proceed to extremities against some rebellious Colonnese barons, and more particularly on account of their recent outrage of the Colonna family. The exiles fled to France, and were received with open arms. Boniface, in being appealed to by the oppressed clergy, asserted its temporal and spiritual supremacy, just as Innocent V. had restored order to Portugal, A.D. 1245, or as crowns had been imposed of by his predecessors, not to mention that of Sardinia, which he had himself awarded to James II. of Aragon. Philip stormed like a mused tiger, and burnt the papal bulls. Unable to deny the statements of his minister, he condescended to answer with equivocations and personal reproaches. For such purposes he convoked his states-general, impugned the election of the Pontiff, and sent a military force, headed by William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, to assault the venerable sexagenarian in his own town of Anagni. Boniface remembered his meek and divine Master, and refused to oppose violence by violence. Arrayed in full pontificals, and kneeling before the altar with a crucifix in his hands, he calmly waited as he long was it like a confessor, for the approach of his enemies. Sciarra, with his drawn sword, and followed by Nogaret and his ruffians, for the instant felt overawed; but at last seeing their august victim, they insultingly threatened to carry him off to Lyons, where he would be deposed, as they vowed to aver, by a general council. "Here is my head, here is my neck," replied Boniface; "I will patiently bear death

I, a Catholic pontiff, and lawful vicar of Christ, be condemned and deposed by heretics: I desire to die for the faith of Jesus and His Church!" The assailants quailed. After a rude and cruel imprisonment of three days, his people rose through very shame and indignation, liberated their noble sovereign, and conducted him to Rome, where, on the thirtieth or thirty-fifth afternoon, he quietly expired in his 87th year, forgiving every one who had ever injured him, and edifying the whole court and capital through the saintly circumstances of his dissolution; hastened, as no doubt the latter was, by the infamous treatment he had experienced. And this is the Pope as to whom certain Protestant historians, styling themselves evangelical, can affirm, that "he entered the pontificate as a fox, lived through it as a lion, and died in it as a dog!" One may well fall in love with the beatitude attached in the New Testament to the memory of those reviled and spoken evil of entirely for the sake of the gospel. Later writers, however bitterly opposed to Catholic truth, have tardily and reluctantly, yet not the less sincerely, rendered something like justice to the real and genuine characteristics of this noble head of the Church; all whose measures had been consonant with ancient precedents, and were justified by existing regulations. The grand misfortune was, that what may be termed his ecclesiastical martyrdom produced a catastrophe which has not incorrectly been compared to the Babylonish captivity of a former and older dispensation. For several generations might prevailed over right; although, of course, the mere physical and temporary superiority of brute force neither altered the inherent nature of things, nor could in the least interfere with the intentions of an omniscient Providence for the ultimate welfare of mankind.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1303-1492.

THE POPES AT AVIGNON—THE PAULICIANS—SURVEY OF SOCIETY—LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

In apparently triumphing over Boniface VIII., a blow was struck by Philip the Fair against the Church and society, of which the effects were felt for ages afterwards. The political action of the Pontiffs for the good of Europe seemed to become paralysed. Throughout the fourteenth century they were under French influences. Benedict XI., elected into the place of Boniface, only lived a few months. A.D. 1303-4. His successor, Clement V., reigned ten years, and finally transferred the seat of his government to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, the capital of a small territory called the Venaissin. Both he and Benedict, although they absolved Philip, fully maintained the Catholicity and soundness of that supremacy which their courageous predecessor had promulgated in his bull *Unam Sanctam*. Human violence is only an earthquake, which agitates and perhaps deforms the earth for the time being, and in a particular place, while the firmament of truth overhead remains unchanged as the arch of eternity. Catholics should never forget so simple a fact. Clement acted with Philip in suppressing the Knights Templars. These had grown so opulent as to reckon 16,000 manors but as a portion of their enormous possessions. Such wealth naturally brought corruption with it; and a solemn investigation demonstrated, that within the limits of their order there existed a secret society, heretical in its principles, and abominable through certain profane and profligate practices indulged amongst its members. On the death of Clement, A.D. 1314, there ensued a vacancy of two years, when at length John XXII. was chosen, A.D. 1316. His ecclesiastical troubles lay in setting some fanatical Franciscans in order; and his political ones arose from his struggles against the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. He died A.D. 1334. Benedict XII. followed, ever and anon casting wistful looks towards the

tombs of the Apostles, which the monarchs of France and Navarre prevented from being aught else than the visions of hope. His successor Clement VI., under full convictions that nothing could be gained by resistance to what was for the present inevitable, allowed himself to be carried away by the torrent of circumstances. He augmented the number of French cardinals in the conclave; purchased the city of Avignon itself, for 80,000 florins of gold, from the Queen of Naples, who was also Countess of Provence; amplified and adorned the papal palace, with its environs and the whole country around; abandoned the seven hills of Rome to the celebrated Tribune Cola di Rienzi; and at the same time made those preparations which enabled his successor to send thither his legate Egidius Albornoz, a descendant of the old sovereigns of Leon, to save and consolidate the temporal interests of the Holy See in Italy. Their shattered and almost ruined state compelled the Pontiffs to adopt many unpopular measures for their own suitable subsistence as princes; whilst their Gallican tyrants coerced them into others, nominally for the promotion of the prosperity of the Church, but in reality for the aggrandisement of the kings of France. The most mendacious fables have been circulated with regard to the treasures accumulated by the Popes at Avignon. It was necessary that they should be supported; even whilst it was the crime of Christendom, that their central residence was not where it ought to have been. Clement is accused of having been profuse; but his necessities called for an enlarged expenditure. A plague desolated the world in that day, which might well be denominated, as it was, the Black Death. Amidst the consequent panic, dissolving, as it did, all the tenderest ties of society, the souls of millions turned to the Church of God for spiritual consolations and pecuniary aid; nor in soliciting either were they disappointed. Clement VI. unlocked his treasures with boundless liberality. His buildings and foreign missions also absorbed vast sums, as well as the support of his troops in the ecclesiastical patrimony. He reigned from A.D. 1342 to A.D. 1352, and renewed the Jubilee, for which he granted an Indulgence; arranging that in future it should

be celebrated at the end of every fifty years, instead of only at the termination of a century. Innocent VI. governed amidst various confusions A.D. 1352-62: such as the ravages of civil war in Italy, and the invasion of Hungary by the Turks; whilst, during the same period, France and England were maintaining their destructive contest, which led to the peace of Bretigni in A.D. 1360. Urban V. declared on his election a firm determination of returning to Rome, which he realised for a brief interval, dying, as St. Bridget had predicted, in December A.D. 1370; nor was it until A.D. 1377, that his successor, Gregory XI., who reigned A.D. 1371-8, ultimately restored the papal chair, at the urgent solicitations of St. Catherine of Sienna, to the metropolis where St. Peter had established it. On the decease of Gregory commenced the great schism. At Rome, Urban VI., A.D. 1378-89; Boniface IX., A.D. 1389-1404; Innocent VII., A.D. 1404-6; and Gregory XII., A.D. 1406-1415, presided over the spiritual administrations of Italy, the Empire, England, the nations of the North, and sometimes France. At Avignon, the anti-Popes were a second Clement VI., A.D. 1378-94; and Benedict XIII., A.D. 1394-1417; to whose obedience, as it was termed, France at first adhered, with Spain, Scotland, and Sicily all throughout the period. The Synod of Pisa, A.D. 1409, summoned by the cardinals and several Catholic potentates, added to the confusion; for the assembled fathers deposed both Gregory and Benedict, without deciding upon their respective pretensions, and elected Alexander V. by their own assumed authority. There were thus three claimants of the tiara at one and the same time; nor were matters mended by the removal of Alexander; for John XXIII. was nominated as another anti-Pope in his stead, A.D. 1410, whose main merit, however, was the convocation of the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414. All the contending Pontiffs now either abdicated, or were set aside: the satisfactory selection of Cardinal Colonna, as Martin V., healed in some measure the breaches of the Church, and once more enthroned her in her native land of the Romans. It may be scarcely worth mentioning, that Benedict XIII. clung to his unhappy pretensions even on his death-bed,

at Peniscola, A.D. 1424; where he bound the two cardinals who still paid him their allegiance to elect a successor, under pain of eternal damnation. They chose a canon of Barcelona, and the court of Aragon ratified their choice, compelling its object to usurp the title of Clement VIII. On the 26th of July, A.D. 1428, this last shadow of iniquity voluntarily resigned; so that the rightful holder of the Apostolical Keys maintained them without a rival until his death, in A.D. 1431.

Yet enormous, as may well be imagined, had been the amount of mischief perpetrated. Italy, without the Popes, was a decorated casket deprived of the jewel which belonged to it, and constituted its principal value. With their adherents, the Guelfs, they had always been the friends of the people in Germany, Lombardy, the Pontifical States, Tuscany, and Naples. Their competitors, the Ghibellines, were nearly all imperialists, panting for those positions which many of them speedily obtained; when, under the denominations of dukes, marquises, counts, and barons, they might play the character of tyrants on a small scale, each one over his own town, city, or district. The Pontiffs had constituted by their presence a third political power, distinct from the aristocracy and democracy; far above both as to their origin, objects, personal virtues, and sacred office, and yet able to balance one against the other, so as to preserve the equipoise of all. Their withdrawal gave a shock to society, faith, and morals. The houses of Luxembourg and Bavaria, in wrestling upon the fair fields of the Peninsula for the prize of empire, together with the meaner rivalries of Florence and Milan, Venice and Genoa, Naples and Sicily, renewed the earlier devastations of heathen barbarism. Instead of the rough but plenteous prosperity of the Carlovingian years, in the first three quarters of the ninth century, misery and violence brooded over the land. The great companies of condottiere, or freebooters, men whose swords upon an organised system were to be bought and sold for a given price in any cause, sprang like evil spirits out of the universal anarchy. The Catalans of Spain had set the pernicious example; it was followed in Lombardy, and more or

less throughout Italy, not to mention other parts of nominal Christendom, by the Visconti, and a celebrated band under Werner. This noble robber—for he was of ducal rank, wore a silver plate on his bosom, describing himself as "an enemy to God, to pity, and to mercy!" Three thousand cavalry, with many more infantry, acknowledged his command; they moved from one territory to another, leaving behind them ruin and desolation, and carrying the same with them wherever they went. Hawkwood, an Englishman, with a variety of similar adventurers, just enlisted by their fame or pay a few parties of these irregular brigands, and at once they became the terror of a province. The papal forces alone made any thing like honest efforts to abolish the evil; but the permanent absence of the Pontiffs appeared to have let irreligion and immorality loose. Petrarch, the poet, had come to Civita Vecchia, A.D. 1337, and dwells upon the loveliness of Capranice, a seat where he was staying, in the possession of one of the Colonnas. Yet from this sojourn, otherwise so agreeable, he says, "All the blessing of peace is banished. Nowhere amidst this enchanting scenery is her heavenly form to be met with. The shepherd, when in these regions he betakes him to the pastures or leafy groves, goes armed to the teeth, anticipating an attack. The husbandman ploughs in complete mail, and urges on his oxen with a lance instead of a goad. The woodman wears his buckler, the fisherman his sword, and the villager uses his helmet instead of a pitcher to fetch water from the rivulet or spring. In rural economy and household pursuits one is startled with images of war. Horrible shouts and cries constantly disturb the nights; and this country (of Italy), beautiful as it is, seems an image of hell, for every thing in it breathes hatred, war, and carnage!" These intimations are but fair specimens of a state of things then unhappily too prevalent, from the general dissolution of order and morals. The anchors, moreover, which hold down the heart of man to an orthodox belief in the right religion here, connected as that is with a judgment to come hereafter, had been mournfully and miserably lifted. From the twelfth century an inundation

of fresh heresy had broken in upon the Church. After a tolerably long obscurity, the Manichean theory of two principles had revived in the western parts of Armenia, and was propagated by the Paulicians. These sectaries ascribed the creation of the world to an evil deity, the author of the Jewish law; hence they rejected the Old Testament, and considerably curtailed or modified the gospels, just as the Anti-supernaturalists do now: they rejected the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the adoration of the Cross, and the reality of the death and resurrection of the Saviour; holding rather to the phantasmal notions of the ancient Gnostics. They averred that no priests were required under the new dispensation, and that the Epistles of St. Paul were the parts of Scripture most essential to be studied; from which circumstance they probably derived their name. Petrus Siculus first described them in the reign of Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 870, when they had been driven out of Armenia into Bulgaria. By the course of the Danube their doctrines stole into Hungary and Bavaria, sometimes taking the route of Lombardy into Switzerland and France. In the southern and eastern districts of the last country they became conspicuous as Catharists, Picards, Patarins, but above all, as the Albigenses. Their errors and habits poisoned the fountains of truth and rectitude. Innocent III. and the Fourth Council of Lateran, as well as the zeal and fervour of St. Dominic, encountered them with the weapons of the spirit to confute their principles, and with those of a coercive police to counteract and restrain such of their malpractices as violated the foundations of moral conduct or the proprieties of life. Confounded with the Waldenses, and passing into all the Protean shapes which heresy can so well assume, more especially in connection with an appearance of personal piety, they spread into Spain, Italy, Germany, Flanders, and France. England soon caught the infection, from which were no doubt engendered the Wycklyffites or Lollards of the fourteenth century.

These circumstances ought always to be remembered in glancing at mediæval manners and society. All that

true religion can ever be expected to do, in a mixed state of affairs, essentially probational and not paradisiacal, was done. An enemy came and sowed cockle amongst the wheat, exactly according to that Satanic policy which has prevailed in the world since the fall of our first parents. What Protestantism or infidelity chooses to call the superstition of those ages is immensely exaggerated. Something of the sort, beyond all question, occurred, such as the Crusade of the Children, the fanaticism of the Pastoureaux, or the Flagellants, the persecution of the Jews, and such fabulous miracles as a yearning after the marvellous will always produce in every period and country, anti-catholic ones not excepted. None of these absurdities had the approval of the Church, but just the reverse; it was she alone who could at all stem or direct the currents of enthusiasm, and bring good out of evil; her influences guided and instructed the public and private mind, wherever and whenever the principles of mischief had not obtained, as they often will, a temporary mastery. Numerous and glorious saints illustrated the apparent gloom of the middle centuries, much to the amazement of their more critical adversaries, who might possibly have felt as Adam did when the first day's sun went down, that illimitable darkness was at hand, when, in fact, the main result was an apocalypse of myriads of stars. The asceticism of many monasteries and convents must of itself have borne testimony to the grand realities of truth; nor need we be offended at the occasional corruptions of the cloister, since whenever they were really proved, the most condign penalties visited the offenders. Thus, even King John of England cleared out thirty nuns from Ambresbury on charges fairly brought and fully supported, but which by no means warrant sweeping surmises or universal suspicions. The vast substratum of private, unseen, and unrecorded piety, which in effect preserved the social fabric from falling to pieces, will only be known when the hidings of all hearts shall be unveiled. Some of the most valuable labours of the Church proceed in secret; so far, at least, as the proud present world is concerned; and the very chastisements and humiliations which it was her daily lot

to receive, surveyed from a right point of view, will seem to the candid Catholic but as so many shinings thrown upon her soul from the furnace of eternal love! Her undoubted charity and hospitality are at once sufficient demonstrations as to the divinity of her origin and the genuine efficiency of her efforts, all her difficulties being fairly taken into the account. No tongue can tell how the poor and sick were cared for; how she hovered, like a parent bird, over the virgin, the orphan, or the friendless; how she received the traveller, or washed the feet of the weary pilgrim; how she cherished letters, and fostered agriculture. Monks were almost the solitary masters who could, or who would, instruct their fellow-creatures in the humble details of even domestic knowledge. The progress of ecclesiastical architecture, under their auspices, wants no other testimony than the cathedrals and churches which adorn so many Christian countries; but they also superintended or promoted the erection of family dwellings, from the rudest wooden cabin to the stateliness of the mansion or the castle. Glass windows, doors, and chimneys were gradually introduced for letting in light and keeping out the weather; while smoke escaped elsewhere than through a rude aperture in the roof. Stone, cement, and carved timber, emerge into notice about the twelfth century; and early in the fourteenth, the art of building with brick, which had been lost since the Roman dominion, was introduced, probably from Flanders. In the construction of farmhouses and cottages there might be little room for change or improvement, yet even there the sunshine of religion occasionally beamed through the casements. In Italy, after the Popes had returned, a revival of civilisation accompanied them. The rural residences of husbandmen became nearly as commodious in size and arrangement as they are now, with the exception of tiled roofs. Cottages in England seem to have generally consisted of a single apartment, without division of stories; but cleaner habits prevailed in the days of the first, third, and fourth, than in those of our sixth Edward. Under our Richard II. woods were cleared, marshes drained, wastes brought into tillage, and the proportions of pasture and arable land so

arranged, as that in some places there was nearly as much ground cultivated as during the reign of George II. The northern and western counties seem to have been the most backward; whilst every where, as compared with modern improvements, mediæval crops would be now considered very small,—from six to ten bushels of corn an acre were then thought tolerable; but the rent on an average seems to have not been much more than sixpence or a shilling for land under the plough in the thirteenth age, or about three times that amount for meadows. Wheat would appear to have been about a noble, or 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, and barley less than half that sum. The usual price of land under the house of York might be ten years' purchase. In France and Germany matters of this sort were in a nearly similar condition; but Lombardy, whenever peace prevailed for any period, shook from her lap a perfect cornucopia of plenty. Notwithstanding her augmented population, she exported corn largely; nor was ornamental gardening by any means unknown.

The plain fact is, that throughout what have been called the centuries of faith, the labouring classes were better off than since the belauded era of private judgment and individual independence. Beneath the warm wings of a Church caring maternally for the bodies as well as the souls of her children; when to feed the poor was a privilege rather than an obligation, and low inartificial rents the order of the day,—operatives and their families obtained an abundance of coarse yet wholesome food in remuneration for their work. In the fourteenth century, a harvestman had a groat, or fourpence a-day: eighteenpence a-week were the wages of ordinary seasons; and with these payments, meat, such as it was, being little more than a farthing a pound, the able peasant could procure for his household a far larger share of substantial sustentation than at present. His earnings, in other words, then enabled him to purchase, between Sunday and Sunday, a bushel of wheat and twenty-four pounds of animal food. Less than a moiety of this is all that an ordinary day-labourer in the country can obtain now. The entire population of England, however, when the Popes returned from Avignon, was under

two millions and a half. Such comparative abundance must have told materially in favour of honesty and general virtue; remembering how hard it is to make an empty bag stand upright, and bearing in mind also the healthiness of their out-of-door sports,—the Maypole, the game at bowls, the village green, the wrestling match, and the quarter-staff. Similar observations will apply to other countries, allowing for differences of locality, adventitious circumstances, or the varieties of climate. Catholicity was held in solution throughout society, pervading the customs of a district or manor, as well as those of the saintly festival or holiday of obligation. It was witnessed in the rude picture on a wall, the blessed crucifix in its niche, the figure at a fountain, the cross in the market-place, some favourite legend of our Lady, or the awful mysteries of every parochial sanctuary. People then might read religion as they ran, as they walked, or rode, ate, drank, or slept. From the conception and birth of the infant, to the passing bell which announced the transit of an adult or elder into eternity, baptism, confirmation, matrimony, and Extreme Unction, besides innumerable lesser solemnities, all helped to teach the unlettered rustic how to live in holiness and die in peace. Let these simple statements be compared with the position of our lower ranks in England, Scotland, Prussia, and Scandinavia, with the universal profligacy and incontinency of our manufacturing and agricultural districts; or the infanticide of the burial clubs, deforming and disgracing this evangelical island. It is the pen of Protestantism itself which points, in a leading journal, "to the tendency of that new era opening upon us in the middle of the nineteenth century, after generations of philanthropy, education, and reform; when the worst scandals of barbarism are revived, and surpassed by those of our mere intellectual civilisation." During the period when the priesthood had always the ears and generally the hearts of their penitents, one may conceive the perpetual processes, through the operation of which no inconsiderable degree of private virtue was preserved, and a gradual elevation secured of the lower classes. Slavery and serfdom were frowned upon; although their existence at all, as it may fairly be admitted, was far too

protracted. A more regular administration of justice, according to fixed rules, and a more effectual police, must be reckoned among the causes of moral improvement. Private warfare and licensed robbery received effectual discouragement in France, from the ordinances of St. Louis; although in Germany, Italy, and Spain they lingered later than elsewhere. The growth of towns, trade, commerce, and an almost universal development of industry, involving the formation of free communities, the municipal privileges of corporations, the creation in consequence of a large middle class; the action and re-action of all these causes in the multiplication of wealth, with the tastes for refinement naturally arising out of it, were of course not without immense social effects. The love of money may be the root of all evil; yet the legitimate use of it, as capital employing labour, can scarcely fail to prove beneficial to a nation. Before the fourteenth century, and previous to the debasement of the coinage, throughout France and England, by Philip the Fair and Edward I., the ordinary value of wheat was only four shillings the quarter, and that of barley and oats in proportion. A sheep only fetched one shilling, and an ox twelve. Combining these facts, and setting the comparative dearness of cloth against the cheapness of fuel and many other articles, Hallam considers any given sum under Henry III. as equivalent in general command over commodities to about twenty-four or twenty-five times its nominal value at present. Interest, or usury, as the theologians love to call it, may date its decline, in extravagance of amount, from the prosperity of the Lombard and Hanseatic merchants: sure and certain evidence that capital was accumulating. Laws of prohibition still kept up the rate in France as high as twenty per cent; the same at Modena, A.D. 1270; at Verona, fifty years earlier, only twelve and a half; whilst at Genoa, after the Popes had returned, interest had fallen to ten, or even as low as seven in the hundred. In Spain it had got down to ten, at least at Barcelona, where the first bank of deposit was established A.D. 1401. Long before this time, moreover, it becomes abundantly evident that monetary transactions were increasing in importance. Even the

fabulous accumulations at Avignon help to show that the markets of the world were getting accustomed to immense amounts. When the Bardi failed at Florence, A.D. 1345, the conqueror of Cressy and Poictiers owed them nearly a million gold florins; the bankruptcy of the Peruzzi unveiled a claim upon him for 600,000 more; a public loan was negotiated for the great Tuscan republic in A.D. 1336; and the bank of Genoa raised money to equip an armament for the conquest of Corsica, which a company of adventurers held and governed, just as our own Leadenhall monopolists, in modern days, acquired and ruled the vast peninsula of Hindostan. The rates of profit throughout these periods of course sympathised with the value of money. Considerably prior to the capture of Constantinople, Venice employed 10,000,000 of ducats in her own commerce, from which a gross return was sometimes realised of forty per centum. Her mint annually coined a million in gold and silver, and she drew a million more in specie from her Milanese dominions.

A far nobler kind of influence, brought to bear upon society during the Middle Ages, was that of Chivalry. Its germs may be traced in almost immemorial antiquity; but from the era of Charlemagne it took a regular military and feudal form, associated with rank and adventure, and connected with the peculiarity of serving on horseback, equipped in a coat of mail. Its principle of action professed to be individual honour, coveted in so entire and absolute a perfection, that it could not be shared with an army or a nation. The Spanish Cid Ruy Diaz, and similar heroes, look admirably well at a distance; and even over those who lived around them some effect would be produced, when men did homage or professed attachment, to a certain extent from disinterested motives, towards any prince or potentate. The whole reality, or rather romance, of knighthood sprang from these sources; but it was not until the Crusades, which clothed the system with a religious character, that the institution acquired its full vigour. The investiture of the aspirant by his patron, liege lord, or some celebrated warrior, with his armour, spurs, and shield, constituted a main external feature in the ceremonial; and among the

good Anglo-Saxons this was preceded by a confession of sins, and other pious rites; the order, moreover, being received from a priest, instead of a layman. Even the giddy Normans, in laughing at the effeminate sanctity, as it seemed to them, of their new subjects, permitted William Rufus to be knighted by Archbishop Lanfranc; and the recovery of Palestine soon imparted a sacredness to chivalry altogether. Every soldier assuming the Cross had his ambition elevated. An object allured him forward to fame and fortune for both worlds, should he only prove himself worthy of his high vocation. As a candidate for the equestrian dignity, there were nights to be passed in prayer, sanctuaries to be visited, sacraments to be received, the bath to be entered, a white robe to be put on, emblematical of his purification and future innocence of life. His sword was solemnly blessed; for it was to be drawn at every Mass its wearer attended, while the Gospel was being read, to signify his willigness to die, if needful, in its defence. The especial veneration of our Blessed Lady heightened, and refined, and consecrated the souls and valour of her followers; who, so long as their faith and perseverance lasted, derived through her favour and patronage a moral purity, which must have been otherwise unknown, with a glowing gallantry of bearing inspired from above. But the most exquisite beauty, when once degenerated, assumes the most frightful hideousness; and as corruption regained its ascendency, another sort of gallantry unhappily superseded its predecessor. The celestial vision darkened into a carnal dream. Female fascination, one of the surviving flowers of paradise, so long as it is fresh and fragrant, and free from sinful defilement, became gradually turned to bad account. In the Norman period there seems to have been more roughness in the social intercourse between the sexes than was the case later; for if we remember right, the Conqueror overcame the repulsion of his consort Matilda by rolling her in the kennel. Courtesy, however, was at least an acknowledged offspring of chivalry. Nor could the knightly spirit of gentleness towards women fail in producing some improvement in behaviour, some taste for elegance or gracefulness, and a warm admiration for virtue.

The mere silent appeal of weakness to strength for personal protection, would do much towards awakening generosity and magnanimity. It was only when religion had altogether withdrawn that the scene changed for the worse; whilst even then, although the phœnix had flown away, the ashes of her pyre remained, and contributed something in the shape of loyalty, liberality, justice, and polished manners, for the amelioration of mankind. The character of the knight gradually subsided into that of the European gentleman, which distinguished high-bred society in the sixteenth and seventeenth, just as the other did in the preceding centuries.

Literature meanwhile effected more than either money or manners amongst those who had ears to hear and minds to cultivate. Most exaggerated notions have prevailed with regard to this subject, as though all ranks and classes, through what are called the Dark Ages, with just here and there an exceptional individual, were buried in illiteracy and barbarism. It was far from being so. Pope Sylvester II., who ascended the papal throne, A.D. 999, shed a light upon his position and times, from the apex to the basement of the social pyramid. He was accomplished in dialectics, arithmetic, mechanics, philosophy, and astronomy; he wrote treatises on all the sciences; was familiar with every department of literature, as well as theology; constructed an organ, of which the bellows seem to have been worked by steam; and regulated a chronometer made for the Emperor Otho III., by celestial observations carried on through a long tube on the polar star. The use of the astrolabe, the quadrant, and even a globe, is described in his remains. We are indebted to him for the introduction of numerals, as at present adopted. Otric of Saxony, Adelbold the biographer of St. Henry, the learned St. Berward, bishop of Hildesheim, their predecessors under the reigns of Charlemagne and his sons, up to our own Venerable Bede, present a galaxy of light, such as must have made many a cloister glad, to say nothing of those whom there is no room to enumerate, or whose names and works, once well known, can be discovered no longer. The lady Roswitha, of Gandersheim, cultivated both history and

poetry under the Saxon emperors; and it would appear that her community—for she was a religious—loved learning and letters as keenly as herself. The Latin hymns and sequences of the breviary and missal, some of them by prelates and pontiffs, might alone be sufficient to refute the calumnies which have been levelled at the annals of the Papacy by uncandid Protestantism, or malevolent infidelity. Beyond all doubt, the difficulties under which literature laboured must have been enormous; and that there were fitful seasons of alternate night and day, tempest and sunshine, one sometimes following the other with a suddenness analogous to natural convulsions, is also most true; yet all these allowances make the amount of literary evidence which has come down to us so much the more conclusive, as to what must have constituted the real limits of intellect and knowledge throughout the calmer intervals of the middle ages. The scarcity of books, indeed, raised their value prodigiously. Records and manuscripts had been written by the Romans, either on parchment or material made from the Egyptian papyrus; but of the latter, supplies became rare after the settlement of the Saracens on the banks of the Nile. The former was too expensive an article for ordinary purposes; nor was it until the manufacture of paper from linen rags, introduced about the close of the tenth century, according to Muratori, Montfaucon, and Mabillon, that authors could have any means for multiplying copies of their works. Tiraboschi places this invention a good deal later; notices of such tradesmen as booksellers are certainly not found before the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and it is contended, that cotton was used as the substitute for linen in all specimens of paper still extant of any period previous to the Crusades. Monasteries were for many generations the only places where the laborious process of transcription could be regularly carried forward. The trouble which even St. Louis may have experienced in forming a library at Paris, can therefore be conceived. That at Glastonbury Abbey, in A.D. 1240, contained no less than 400 volumes, with Livy, Sallust, Lucan, Virgil, Claudian, and many other ancient authors in the catalogue. At St. Albans,

fifty-eight books were transcribed under one abbot, A.D. 1300;—surely a noble, intellectual harvest, to proceed, as it did, from a single scriptorium. The learned languages may be truly said to have owed their survival to the Church of Almighty God. The supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, the liturgy, the breviary, the sanctuary, and the cloister, preserved the voice as well as the works of antiquity; whilst the study of the civil and canon law; the foundation and maintenance of universities throughout Christendom, to which students flocked by thousands; the culture of theology in the schools, which produced such prodigies as Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas; the efforts made successfully to recover and understand and illustrate the choicest classics, as models of taste and genius, demonstrate that the assertions of vulgar history are calumnies, based upon prejudice, and the results of superficial investigation. Whatever might have been the intervals of dreariness throughout the lapse of a thousand years, those sacred altars, which are identified with Calvary, not only shone with the sacrifice of the Sun of Justice, but they scattered abroad the radiancy of mind and science for the instruction and improvement of myriads, perhaps less intellectually enlightened, yet certainly more humble and happy, than the conceited millions of modern times.

The Latin and Greek tongues, as spoken by the commonalty, were rapidly corrupting into the Italian, French, Spanish, and Romaic, intermingled, as all these became, with a multitude of words, idioms, and varieties, from contemporaneous or collateral sources. The Teutonic and Sclavish nations contributed their full proportions. Pronunciation ceased to be regulated by quantity; the dialect of Romanze formed an intermediate state between the language of the Western empire and some of its modern derivatives; whilst of the principal vernaculars throughout Europe, none seemed so tardy in its growth or application to the purposes of literature as the English. This arose, as Hallam observes, out of the Saxon spoken in this island, from Cumberland to Cornwall, until after the Conquest. He points out a poem, by one Layamon, a priest of Ern-

ley-upon-Severn, which exhibits, as it were, the chrysalis transition from the Saxon into later English, under Henry II. Robert of Gloucester, and Manning, a monk of Lincolnshire, stand at the head of our native poetry during the thirteenth century. The Vision of Piers Plowman follows, after an interval, by William Langland, whose malevolence against the clergy sufficiently marks the temper of the times, but reflects no credit upon the heart or the religion of the author. French, however, still fought hard to maintain its ground; yet an important change occurs in A.D. 1362, when the statute was passed, amidst the flush of victory, that all pleas in courts of justice should for the future be in English. Sir John Mandeville, who published his travels about twelve years before, may be styled the father of English prose; whilst Chaucer, somewhat later, may be allowed to assume that title with regard to our poetry. His *Canterbury Tales* had their commencement A.D. 1389, after he had completed his sixtieth year; and on these celebrated compositions his fame will principally rest. They are full of continental words and phrases; a circumstance not to be wondered at. Even in the reign of the Confessor the Normans had rendered it a fashion to speak French at the court of London: subsequently to the Conquest their clergy occupied nearly all ecclesiastical vacancies; at schools, down to the days of Richard II., scholars were taught to construe their Latin lessons into French; and notwithstanding the statute above mentioned, the latter continued to be the language of parliament, and of course of the higher classes, for a much longer period. Chaucer has been overraised, yet he certainly introduced the heroic metre into his native tongue. Amidst rhymes uncouth and heaps of rubbish, one may recognise melody, fancy, and sentiment His allegories, dull and wretched as they appear to us, may have helped to inspire the soul of a future Spenser; but they could never have told upon literature at large, or electrified the mind of nations. Far different was the mind destiny of Dante, who died but a few years before Chaucer was born, and whose *Divine Comedy* unveiled an invisible world, gleaming amidst hell, purgatory, and para-

dise, like the pillar of fire and cloud, conducting the hosts of Israel through their wanderings in the wilderness. His birth occurred at Florence, A.D. 1265; his death at Ravenna, A.D. 1321.

His glorious production of fourteen thousand verses created the vernacular poetry of his country; nor was he less than the Homer of the mediæval centuries, with a nobler subject for his labours than the Iliad or Odyssey. He avows with remarkable plainness his obligations to Virgil; but it is evidently with the older bard that his most genuine analogies are to be identified. His scenery is unearthly and impalpable,—yet how solemn and real! The phantoms of agony,—of patient pain,—or of ineffable repose and felicity, move before our minds with a life-like resemblance; imagination is for the moment so operated upon, that while we read, the spiritual and material change places. We are ourselves beyond the shadowy bourne, without having observed any passage from time into eternity. The powers of his utterance are always in keeping with the depth and vastness of his thoughts,—those who knew him sometimes said he must have seen the horrors of the Inferno which he depicts; and the old women at Verona ventured to point out in the dark expression of his face and his frizzled hair, the marks of long exposure to the heat and smoke of an unquenchable fire. No testimony to his genius could well be stronger; but it has been justly observed, that the religion in which he believed, and the sublimity of which he had an intellect to see and appreciate, in fact left him little or nothing to invent; his strength of wing therefore, so to speak, was never weakened by its flight; and let it soar into whatever altitudes, or descend into whatever abysses it would, it rested on its faith, like an albatross upon the clouds, never overwhelmed with any feeling but that of awe, and in reality refreshing its weariness, where any other pinion than its own must have become appalled and paralysed. When he descries "over the tremulous glitter of the ocean wave" a bark of souls bound for purgatory, guided and wafted by angels, and just catches their pensive chant, *allusive* to the transit of Israel out of Egypt; or when

again, still further forward, the coruscations of Paradise break upon his gaze,—the long contemplation, as Mariotti says, of such divine scenes and circumstances produced an actual apotheosis of his own soul; the most ethereal substance of his spirit never found its way back again to earth; his contact with the visible majesty of the Almighty had withdrawn him out of the body. In those instantaneous glimpses, his thought became so thoroughly absorbed in its principle, that it never quitted it to all eternity; and what renders the intellectual grandeur of the whole so interesting, even to the historian, is, that the poem is neither more nor less than a mirror of the times; it is a transcript of all that was uppermost in the thoughts, the hopes, and the affections of the Italians of its own period; it enchained the attention, not only of his own country, but wherever it could be perused or understood; it was a reflection of Catholicity, enshrined in immortal song; it was, and is, read, not as an amusement, but as a work replete with moral wisdom, recondite love, and religious instruction. Even the Protestant master of the Middle Ages gets warm with his criticisms and admiration. "The appearance of the *Divine Comedy* made an epoch in the intellectual history of modern nations, and banished the discouraging suspicion which long ages of lethargy tended to excite, that nature had exhausted her fertility in the great poets of Greece and Rome: it was as if at some of the ancient games a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts, which tradition had ascribed to the demigods: but the admiration of Dante, though it gave a general impulse to the human mind, did not produce imitators; his orbit is still all his own, and the track of his wheels can never be confounded with that of a rival."* The vestiges of his predilections as a Ghibelline are sufficiently discernible.

Two other contemporary names must be mentioned, to complete the mediæval triumvirate of Italian literature;—they are those of Petrarch and Boccaccio. At Avignon, where his parents resided, the former became quickly

* Hallam.

known; and his father had been banished from Florence in the same year with Dante Alighieri. Not to dwell upon his sonnets, which are models of elegance and purity,—nor upon his Latin poetry and prose, which are upon the high-road to oblivion,—nor upon his attachment to Laura, as to which more than enough has been written,—all the world must admit two sources of merit in the *Solitary of Vaucluse*;—one was his success in cultivating the native language of his country,—the other consisted in his unwearied labours for the resurrection of classical learning. To recover an ancient manuscript he would compass sea and land; enthusiasm is too weak a word to express his own feelings on the subject, or those with which he contrived to innoculate his admirers. Clement VI., and his successor, Innocent VI., both handsomely patronised him; although the freedom of his satire, and his fanatical sympathy with Rienzi, might easily have cooled the friendship of minds less magnanimous. He became the idol of his age,—the pet of popes and kings, of princes and nobles: Naples, Venice, Milan, Padua, and Parma, vied with Rome herself in paying him homage; although the summit of his ambition was reached, when he was solemnly crowned as laureate on the Capitol, A.D. 1341. His character perhaps presents us with the personified essence of sentiment,—a mass of poetical emotions, combining those of love, glory, friendship, religion, and patriotism, all into one vivid spirit, without strength in proportion to produce an effect which will last for ever. Yet he had a purer mind than Boccaccio, whose *Decameron*, with matchless merits, apart from its morals, instructed his countrymen how to write Italian prose in perfection. Its author admired, and almost worshipped, Dante; he had copied out his entire works, and knew them, it is said, by heart. The Florentines appointed him their first professor, in A.D. 1374, to read lectures on the *Divine Comedy;* but he died about a year after his friend Petrarch, and not long subsequently to his joyful acceptance of the lectureship. He also did his best towards a revival of the old Latin and Greek literature; he brought at his own expense Leontius Pilatus, of Thessalonica, from Venice to Florence; where he enter-

tained him in his own house for a long period, deriving from his tuition sufficient acquaintance with the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, to read them in the original, and attempt their translation: others imitated his example; quickened and assisted by his treatise on heathen mythology, long since superseded, but deemed in those days a miracle of elaborate erudition. It is far from our desire to depreciate the pains there taken, and the just praise deserved by scholars, labouring under immense disadvantages, to elevate the intellectual level of their age; yet surely few can help lamenting the excessive admiration excited by the literary legacies of paganism. It became a fashion,—indeed, a rage, to almost fall down and worship the genius of antiquity; not merely the oceanic grandeur of the blind father of poetry, or the moonlight majesty of Virgil, or the mystic dreams of Plato, or the stern philosophy of Aristotle; but the licentiousness of Terence or Apuleius, and the amatory enervations of Ovid and Catullus. To discover an original manuscript insured as much fame and adulation, as to win a victory or found a hospital. The holy Scriptures, and the volumes of the fathers, came to be criticised in a manner less respectful and reverential than formerly; their style was alone looked upon as the grand standard of excellence or the reverse. General phraseology got more classical, but less Christian; and when society is in a transitionary state, as well indeed as at other times, words are too apt to make way for things. A leaven of mythicism stole over many members of the Church: and it would have shocked the soul of St. Gregory the Great to have heard the deities of Olympus appealed to, or spoken of, as though they had ever possessed a real existence. Theology itself began to assume a Ciceronian garb; it seemed as though the witchery of the world had combined with the Father of Lies, to exorcise from its forgotten sepulchres the spectre of pagan antiquity, and invest it with the prophet's mantle. Love and charity soon waxed cold when associations with the past absorbed both the present and the future; when an oration of Demosthenes, or a play of Plautus, rummaged perhaps out of an old cask, excited greater attention than the Gospels of the

Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter.

The empire of Constantinople was now drawing rapidly towards a termination; nor did it ever recover from the consequences of the fourth crusade. Dandalo and his Venetians; the two sieges of the city; its sixty years occupation by nominal emperors, whose existence formed the offensive badge of foreign conquest; its comparatively easy recovery by the general of Michael Palæologus, without even any knowledge on the part of the latter that the affair of a single night had effected so important a change; the loss of most of the islands in the Archipelago and the provinces of Greece, from Thessaly southward;—altogether sapped or destroyed the foundations of hope for future prosperity or security. The ancestors of Palæologus had assisted to enthrone the Comnenians; and were ever afterwards more or less connected by marriage with the imperial family. His own ambition now began to awaken. It was not enough that he had been acknowledged the colleague, guardian, and in fact the master of the young John Lascaris, whose grandfather had established the Nicean monarchy; but on the return of the Byzantine court to their native metropolis, he insisted upon, and obtained a renewal of his sole coronation in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. Not sufficiently hardened in crime to murder at once his unfortunate pupil, he simply deposed him from the augustal honours, and cruelly deprived him of sight. This operation was performed by destroying the visual nerves with the infernal glare of red-hot steel basins. His excommunication and absolution involved a further schism, within the general one of the Greek patriarchate, under the denomination of the Arsenites, A.D. 1266-1312. He succeeded in settling his dynasty, such as it proved, through a load of sin illustrated by considerable abilities. Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes, together with the eastern side of the Morea, were wrested from the Franks, and restored to the fading diadem of the successors of Constantine. His temporary re-union of the Oriental and Occidental Churches, sanctioned, so long as it seemed sincere, by Gregory X., at the general Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, produced few satis-

factory results. He had associated his son, Andronicus II., nine years before his own death, A.D. 1282, in the administration of public affairs; and the life of this latter prince subsisted for another half century afterwards. Andronicus had taken into his service the Grand Company of the Catalans against the Ottoman Turks, A.D. 1303; yet so outrageous and disastrous were the ravages of both, that it seemed hard to decide whom the wretched provincials most dreaded. His father, however, had got too entangled in the meshes of false policy for his heir to have learned that uprightness is true wisdom. Michael VIII., Palæologus, had instigated the revolt of Sicily, through the conspiracy of John of Procida against Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, which led to the Sicilian Vespers. These transactions inevitably brought his family into the vortex of Aragonese connections and revolutions. The Catalonian mercenaries fought manfully against the Mahometans, as also against the subjects of Andronicus, when they felt that he was defrauding them of their hire. Amidst the horrors of what amounted to another civil war, the fragments of an empire were trampled under foot; the principality or duchy of Athens became a dependency upon Sicily and Aragon; three internal contests between the emperor and his grandson, Andronicus III., A.D. 1321-8, exhausted the realm. Michael IX., son of the elder, and sire of the younger Andronicus, had appeared as an imperial shadow, and passed away, A.D. 1295-1320; until at length the grandfather abdicated, A.D. 1328, and died in the cell of a monastery, indigent and neglected, 13th February, A.D. 1332. His successor wore the purple for thirteen years, an adept in vice and wickedness, down to his decease in A.D. 1341; when his son, John IV., ascended the throne, a child of not quite nine years old, under the able regency of Cantacuzenos, the Great Domestic of the Palace. This remarkable personage subsequently usurped the diadem, A.D. 1347-1355: endeavouring to rule as sole autocrat, although from the commencement of his administration, he had assumed the external symbols of supreme authority. His private wealth, one would have thought, might have satisfied any desires not absolutely

insatiable, including money, plate, and silver, sufficient to equip seventy galleys; pastures stocked with 2500 brood mares, 200 camels, 300 mules, 500 asses, 5000 horned cattle, 50,000 hogs, and 70,000 sheep;—besides an extent of arable land, producing enormous stores of wheat and barley, with 1000 yoke of oxen employed upon its cultivation; so that it may be fairly estimated at upwards of 60,000 acres. Yet so entirely had the pursuit of power dissipated his substantial opulence, as well as the national treasures, that at his coronation the banquet was served in pewter, or earthenware, and the absence of gold and jewels supplied with a thin sprinkling of genuine pearls over an artificial display of glass and gilt leather! His reign lasted eight years; but John IV. had taken up arms against him A.D. 1353, until he resigned in January, A.D. 1355; becoming a zealous monk of Mount Athos, and disputing with theological keenness as to the nature of the light in the Transfiguration of our Lord on Thabor. It was a topic which agitated all the subtleties of the Oriental mind for a decade of years, A.D. 1341-51; nor was it settled but by a synod, which established as an article of faith, that the glory seen by the three favoured apostles was uncreated. Cantacuzenos, who presided as a theologian, and under his former imperial title, in this assembly, was called in religion Father Joasaph. His son attempted a rebellion, but in vain, since a paternal rebuke, and humble solicitation to the ruling power for pardon, were the chief results. He received a letter from the pope in A.D. 1375, and expired at a marvellously advanced age in A.D. 1411. John IV., whose nominal domination may date from the demise of the third Andronicus, gave his name to the acts of government for fifty years. Meanwhile the rich commercial republics of the west contended fiercely for their factories in the east; and their struggles with each other and the imperial sovereigns of the Bosphorus contributed mightily to the ultimate ruin of Constantinople. A victory of the Genoese over the Venetians and Cantacuzenos, 13th February, A.D. 1352, consolidated the prosperity of Pera as a suburb of the metropolis, yet so independent and powerful as to be able, in the name of Genoa, to dictate

terms to the emperor, and banish her rivals from his patronage. Islamism roared at the gates. The emperor sought refuge at Rome, where he was received into the bosom of the Church, A.D. 1369. His eldest son and grandson rebelled against him; the direst immorality prevailed on all sides. His second son, Manuel II., was associated with him on the throne,—that throne now sinking amidst the billows of dishonour, and already overshadowed in anticipation by the baleful blight of the Ottoman banners. At the death of John IV., A.D. 1391, the Roman empire had shrunk into an angle of Thrace. Whatever remained of real piety and learning hastened into Italy, where an asylum offered itself for the Greek language and literature, with multitudes of admirers quite ready to appreciate the erudition, and amply remunerate the instructions, of the venerable and commiserated exiles.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1200-1628.

REVIEW OF THE GREAT ASIATIC NATIONS—THE MOGULS — THE TURKS—AND THE TARTARS—CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE—DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

WE must now look back to an earlier period for observing how some of the changes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were produced, or at least strongly affected, by revolutions which occurred in far distant regions to the eastward of the Roman empire. From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the ancient seats of the Huns and Turks, there emigrated, in the days of Richard and Saladin, many pastoral or nomad tribes of the same descent and similar manners. The name of Moguls or Mongols has prevailed amongst the orientals; but it has been thought by some that they were in reality the Black Tartars, subject to a Turkish horde often called the White Tartars. According to another account, the

Moguls constituted the imperial race; but be this as it may, a great khan, who ruled over 30,000 families on the banks of the Selinga, died before his son Temudsin had reached maturity. The clan therefore separated under various leaders. Thirteen families alone persevered in their allegiance, and it was naturally imagined that the young heir, with his possessions, would be crushed, or shared out as a matter of course amongst the hungry and avaricious rebels. The result, however, proved far otherwise. Adversity concentrated the natural talents and genius of an oppressed prince thus thrown in upon himself, and compelled to rely solely upon his own resources. He grew up with a soul for governing others, combined with a fanatical courage, which turned disaster into triumph, and temporary humiliation into ultimate victory. He possessed, moreover, an instinctive wisdom which enabled him always to seize opportunities, and sometimes create them. His handful of faithful subjects were the children of the tent and the desert, living with friends or foes liable to the like impulses; those impulses moving with magnetic force and invisibility, so that sudden consequences were often produced apparently from very inadequate causes. Whatever these might be, the young khan obtained a mastery over them. He proved himself a hunter, a warrior, a sovereign, and a legislator. Whenever booty was obtained, he gave it to his followers, fully aware that it gained for himself more than an ample equivalent, in the intensity of their attachment. His camp increased every day; deserters returned; fresh tribes voluntarily submitted or were conquered; success begat successes; fame magnified the generosity and achievements of its favourite; the fire of superstition itself was all ready to burst into a blaze. It was arranged that a national convention should be held upon the margin of the Selinga, for purposes generally unknown, or, at least, veiled in mystery. Beneath the open sky, and amidst congregated myriads, there rose up a khodsha, or sage, revered for his venerable age and virtues: "Brethren," said he, "I have seen a vision. The great God of Heaven, on His flaming throne, surrounded by the spirits on high, sat in judgment *upon* the nations of the earth; sentence was pronounced;

and He gave the dominion of the world to our chief, Temudsin, whom he appointed Genghis Khan, or the Universal Sovereign." The Mongols at once held up a forest of hands and arms, with volleys of ecstatic adjurations that they would serve him in all his enterprises. This was in A.D. 1206, a memorable era for the orientals.

The elected of his people bowed at the voice of the prophet, who was a naked fakeer, and believed to ride upon a white horse, whenever he pleased, through the clouds or azure of the firmament. Genghis Khan assured the diet that he was resolved to traverse the whole earth, and only give peace to the conquered. He was in some respects another Mahomet, although not by any means a personal believer in the Koran, which he lived to trample under his feet in the mosques of Bochara; but there appeared in his entire system a similar whirlpool of violence, enthusiasm, valour, vast conception, worldly wisdom, and essential cruelty. His sword revelled in bloodshed. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on as many burning furnaces; and when all were heated to the uttermost, threescore and ten unfortunate victims were cast headlong and alive into the boiling waters. The wondrous sphere of his attraction underwent continual enlargement, by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent. Like some kindred barbarians, he drank his liquor out of the skull of an enemy, enchased with silver; while the rumour ran that, in this instance, it was no less a head than that of Prester John, khan of the Keraites, who had corresponded with popes and Christian princes, which answered the odious purpose. He soon overran the five northern provinces of China, A.D. 1210-14; laid siege to Pekin—whose citizens are said, when their ammunition failed, to have discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines,—and at last took it, after the inhabitants had been decimated, and compelled to devour one another. The palace alone burnt for thirty days; an illumination of which the ashes metaphorically reached Japan, for the peninsula of Corea immediately yielded to the yoke. Marching westward through the mountains, he then subdued Thibet, proceeded to Cashmere, and fell upon the confines of Chorezmia.

Carisme. The sultan of this country reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; his ancestors having established their power through the internal dissensions of the Seljukian Turks just before the Crusades, and drawn within their grasp whatever remained to the dynasties of Gazna and Ghaur. Genghis blew up his frontier towns with gunpowder. From the Caspian to the Indus so many cities were destroyed, so many provinces desolated, that five centuries have been insufficient to renew what was lost, or repair the ravages of only four fatal years. In one battle between 400,000 Carizmians and 700,000 Moguls, 160,000 of the former perished. His lieutenants imitated his example in the rapidity and ferocity with which they subdued the western territories of Persia. After repassing the Oxus and Iaxartes, he signalised an union with his generals by overthrowing all the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary. He was the author of a code of laws adapted to the preservation of domestic peace, and the exercise of foreign hostility. Adultery, murder, perjury, and the theft of horses or oxen, were deemed capital crimes, and punished as such without respect of persons. In the diets, or grand assemblies of his people, he sat upon a rug of coarse felt, administering justice, or directing the affairs of his empire. Important regulations, admirably carried out into practice, kept enormous hosts in order, supplied them with the frequent enjoyment of their favourite pastimes in hunting and war; and maintained those subdivisions of the troops into decades, centenaries, thousands, and myriads, without which the multitude would have become a mob of confusion, dangerous to none but themselves. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of Roman conquest breathed in the maxim, already mentioned, that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. Bows, scymitars, and iron maces, formed the principal weapons; scientific engineers, educated in China, accompanied the conqueror; nor were explosive compounds of sulphur, saltpetre, and *charcoal*, either unknown or rare. In religion, Genghis

Khan professed perfect toleration; but it may well be doubted whether this was any thing more in reality than the vulgar pretension of universal deism and latitudinarianism. Ostentatious proclamations announced his belief in the unity of God, as the author of all good, filling heaven and earth with a divine presence of that almighty will which summoned creation into existence. Catholicity, had he ever come into contact with it, would have tested his sincerity; for the human mind will often treat upon equal terms with every form of error so long as the Truth itself is absent, or the claims of its authority unknown. The great Mogul died, in the plenitude of imperial glory, A.D. 1227, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to complete his career of conquest. Six, or at least four, survived him; besides whom he left three daughters. The numbers of his harem are differently stated, from five to five hundred, yet a certain set seem to have enjoyed decisive rank and preference. In his legislation polygamy had no limits, except such as taste, convenience, or ceremony might suggest. Industry and honesty met with the greatest regard; yet slavery was not discouraged. The remains of Genghis found a simple resting-place under a beautiful tree, which he had himself requested to have preserved as a protection for his sepulchre. He had fallen sick beneath its shelter on his return from the chase. Pilgrims, who resorted thither out of respect to his memory, planted others. In oriental style there soon expanded groves, gardens, fountains, and edifices all around the grave, on a mountain called Lupan, in Shensi. His family were not likely to forget him.

They accordingly received the scymitar of victory from his hands in the very spirit of Moloch. Acting with the leaders of the Mongolian tribes, they fixed upon Octai as the supreme head of the empire, in the place of his father; but without enumerating the gradations and varieties of succession, we may remark that, in sixty-eight years, the descendants of Genghis had subdued almost all Asia, as well as a large portion of Europe. The great northern and southern divisions of China submitted to his grandson, Cublai, from Tonkin to the Grand Wall, A.D. 1234-79;

whilst the circumjacent kingdoms of Siam, Cochin-China, Pegu, Thibet, and Bengal, not to mention some of the Japanese regions, were reduced to different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand sails, which reached the island of Borneo. Another grandson, Holagou, acquired the whole of Persia, extinguished the detestable Assassins in their mountain-holds to the south of the Caspian, and abolished the caliphate of the Abbassides at Bagdad, A.D. 1258. Mostasem was the last of his race, and with him sank the seat of Arabian civilisation. The Moguls then spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Hameth, Aleppo, and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. But the Mamelukes, at that time in possession of Egypt, met and defeated the ravagers near Gour, in Cœlosyria, A.D. 1260. Anatolia, however, or Asia Minor, could offer little resistance; and the Seljukian sultans of Iconium disappeared in the Scythian deluge, A.D. 1242-72. It had also overwhelmed, towards the north and west, the vast territories of Kipjaick, Siberia, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, A.D. 1235-45. Batou, with half a million of men, in a few years measured a line of successful invasion over ninety degrees of longitude, or a quarter of the circumference of the globe. No obstacle could oppose his progress; not the Volga, nor the Don, nor the Kama, nor the Borysthenes, nor the Vistula, nor the Danube; his hordes swam those mighty rivers on their horses, or crossed them, when frozen, on the ice, or passed them in leathern boats, or on the pontoons which transported their cavalry and artillery. The fall of Casan and Astracan, the occupation of Georgia and Circassia, the conflagration of Moscow and Kiow, the extent of desolation from Livonia to the Euxine, the extinction for the time of Lublin and Cracow, the overthrow near the shores of the Baltic of the Silesian dukes, the Polish Piasts and Palatines, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order, convey to our minds some idea of the circle embraced within the Mongolian conquests. At the battle of Lignitz, near Wollstadt, A.D.

1242, nine sacks were literally filled with the right ears of the slain; sanguinary trophies analogous to the scalps of American Indians. Breslau was burnt; the savages were expected at Berlin and Meissen; Muscovy bowed her neck to a bondage of a couple of centuries; all Europe trembled. Mangou, it is true, had vouchsafed some gracious civilities to the Franciscan missionary from St. Louis, A.D. 1253; but the head of Christendom was haughtily informed, that the children of God and Genghis were invested with a divine authority for extirpating the nations, and that the Pontiff himself must come as a suppliant to the victors if he meant to escape the general destruction. The pious reader will naturally think of Sennacherib. It is not a little remarkable that, from the moment of this insolent menace, the shadow on the sundial at Caracorum might have been metaphorically said to go down. Here was the locality of the court and the emperor, about six hundred miles to the north-west of Pekin. Oriental civilisation will be always like a dissolving view. The khan of vagrant shepherds had grown into an imperial autocrat, his generals into princes, his slaves into servile and avaricious nobles, his waggons of gold and silver into the conveniences of luxury, his rude forest into a park or pleasure-ground, and his tent into a palace. A Parisian jeweller had made for him, in the precious metals, a tall artificial trunk of foliage, with wild lions at the four corners pouring forth from their mouths as many torrents of wine. There were two streets of bazaars in this extraordinary metropolis, which is declared by Rubruqius, who visited it, to have been altogether less than the moderate town of St. Denys. The good friar also observes that the residence of Mangou himself seemed scarcely equal to a tenth part of the Benedictine abbey near the French capital dedicated to that same saint. In other words, the whole affair was Asiatic, and nothing more. Each inhabitant of Caracorum, in his rank, was an exact type of all his fellows; each nomad of the grand khan was precisely like the others; the external framework of society was a system of castes as opposed to one of classes, and those too of a very rude and coarse kind; there could be no individuality of cha-

racter, no consequent development, no lengthened or continuous progress, no permanency of general improvement; all useful seed that might be sown fell upon the granite mass of mere military despotism, where no root could be struck into the foundation of a thin soil; so that whatever flowered for a brief interval was sure to waste, or wither away, or turn into the elements of dissolution. The Moguls in vain attempted the adoption of Chinese habits and manners, which were with them neither natural nor traditional. Within the latter moiety of the thirteenth century the colossal fabric of Genghis fell into fragments. The Cossacks on either side the Wolga, the regions of Iran, or Persia, and Transoxiana, elected independent chiefs, and adopted the superstition of Mahomet; nor would they hold any communication with those who remained in China, as the dynasty of Yuen, until their expulsion from that country in A.D. 1367.

That the Byzantine capital should not at this crisis have followed the fate of Pekin and Samarcand, may excite surprise, but can easily be explained. The fourth crusade had concentrated all the Greek energies that remained after the Latin capture of Constantinople in the Nicene sovereignty of Theodore Lascaris and John Vataces, between which and the triumphant Mongols there existed for some brief interval, as a useful breakwater, the Seljukians of Iconium. On the other hand, the territories of Thessalonica were added to those of Nice; from which union no inconsiderable amount of strength and chivalry accrued to the successors of the Comnenians, whilst their internal and domestic government, being temporarily well conducted, the royal domains became the granary and garden of Asia. Economy and prudence proved more than a match for the enemy, even after the sultans of Roum had been swallowed up. Some notion may be gathered as to the public and private character of Vataces, from his presenting his empress with a diadem of pearls and diamonds, which had been paid for by the eggs of his poultry. When the city of Constantine had been recovered, Michael Palæologus amused or checked a dangerous Scythian in[illegible] through the charms of a matrimonial alliance; not to

omit the circumstance, that the Alani and Comans, driven from their native seats by the invaders, enlisted in the Greek service, and formed some of the very best soldiers. Holagou, however, would really have marched upon the Bosphorus, had he not hated the Moslems, and thirsted for the overthrow of Bagdad. The decline also of the khans of Persia, in their turn, made way for the Ottoman Turks: whose obscure origin may be traced among the hordes which had once followed Gelaleddin. In his person the Choresmian dynasty expired, before the advancing fortunes of Genghis; some of the defeated tribes had attacked Syria and Jerusalem, under the name of Carizmians, A.D. 1243; others engaged under the banners of Iconium, particularly a chief styled Orthogrul, the father of Othman; they, or at least their ancestors, had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; so that the same districts produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. When the Seljukian thrones had been destroyed, and the Moguls were declining in power, Othman found himself at the head of a resolute army, on the verge of the Byzantine provinces, every invasion of which the Koran sanctioned as a kind of holy war; he and his people were zealous disciples of the prophet of Mecca; several dervishes, excited by opium, danced themselves into those ecstatic visions, which elevate fanaticism into ferocity; and, as the chieftain communicated their predictions of paradise to his soldiers, he assured them that the standard he lifted before them was a glorious symbol of victory, presented to him by the last of the Seljukides. The Greeks, by their political errors, unlocked for him the passes of Mount Olympus, which, until the reign of Palæologus, had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety, and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privilege, and assumed their office; the consequence of which was, that while the tribute was collected, the importance of protecting the defiles came gradually to be disregarded. On the 27th of July, A.D. 1301, the Ottomans may be said to have descended upon Christendom: their first kingdom was erected in

Bithynia, with Prusa for its capital. Orchan, the son of Othman, who had captured this town, reigned for thirty-four years, A.D. 1326-60; and carried forward what his father had begun. Nice and Nicomedia fell into his hands; he married the fair daughter of Cantacuzenos; the earliest transit of the Turks into Europe was effected through his able policy, A.D. 1341-7, and their permanent establishment, through a co-operation with his imperial yet unpatriotic father-in-law, A.D. 1353; nor need we wonder that his son and successor, Amurath I., had no insurmountable difficulties to encounter in his brilliant career, A.D. 1360-89. This prince overran Thrace from the Hellespont to Hæmus, and the verge of Constantinople; crossing the Balkan, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Albania, were added to the Ottoman possessions; and John Palæologus, with his four sons, felt but too willing to obey his summons, or attend in person his court and camp, for the sake of yet a little longer preserving their own degraded inheritance from the pride, if not the avarice, of the conqueror.

Adrianople had now become the Turkish metropolis, adorned by Amurath with splendid mosques and minarets of marble, decorated internally with magnificent mosaics and tapestries, and on the outside with domes and spires of gilded or polished copper, which glittered afar over the adjacent plains; he also instituted the Janizaries, a regular corps of 12,000 Christian youths selected from captive slaves. For several centuries they constituted the prætorian bands of the Sublime Porte, designed and trained to the knowledge of no other profession than that of arms; attached to their vocation by enormous pay and privileges; and insulated from the rest of society through their prohibition from marriage. As their haughty founder walked over the field of his great victory at Cassova, a soldier in his last agony started from a pile of corpses, and suddenly buried his weapon of revenge in the abdomen of Amurath. His son and successor Bajazet I. acquired the fierce title of Ilderim, or the Lightning, so rapid were his movements, and so terrible their ravages. In fourteen years, A.D. 89-1403, his arms may be literally said to have flashed

from the Danube to the Euphrates, over Moldavia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. An offset of the house of Abbas still existed in Egypt, living upon the charity of the Mamalouks, who revered him, or pretended to do so, as the veritable representative of Mahomet: Bajazet solicited and received from him a patent of sultany, which, at least in the eyes of his own people, rendered him a vicegerent of their prophet. Once again was there a vital wrestling at hand between the Crescent and the Cross; for Christendom had summoned her chivalry to confront in Hungary the irresistible champion of Islam. Sigismund, who, without the piety, yet wore the crown of St. Stephen, marched at the head of 100,000 warriors from Ofen to Nicopolis. The flower of all that France, Bohemia, Burgundy, and the Magyar nobility, could muster, assembled on that fatal field. Many of the knights had boasted, that should the sky fall, they would uphold it on their lances! A few French and English, with some Hungarian archers, had obtained some slight advantage, when Bajazet, suddenly developing his entire forces, surrounded the whole host of his adversaries at once with a quarter of a million of Moslems: then rose from earth to heaven the shriek of defeat, the groan of despair, and the shout of triumph. The Duke of Burgundy misconceived the nature of the peril, advancing to meet it with mere personal courage, unsupported by skilful manœuvre, or concert with his confederates: the ground became red with gore, as the Ottoman scymitar rolled myriads into the dust, or swept the survivors into the Danube. This dreadful catastrophe happened on the 28th of September, A.D. 1396. In vain was the Gallican war-cry uplifted and resounded by the gallant Count of Artois,—"Mountjoy and St. Denys!"; in vain our own ensign of St. George waved over the dead and the dying; in vain Sigismund flew from rank to rank, until cavalry and infantry got confounded in one common tumult; scarcely an unbroken battalion escaped from the engagement, nor had the sovereign of Hungary more than five knights in his train, as he barely reached Constantinople. The conqueror evinced a strange mixture of joy and rage after the victory, for it had cost him dear; in the

pride of his heart he menaced Buda and Vienna, Germany and Italy, declaring that he would feed his horse with oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome:—illness, however, arrested his further course westward. He amused himself with settling the ransom of his innumerable prisoners, or surveying the presents which had been sent to propitiate his anger from the occidental and Christian powers, or from Lusignan, king of Cyprus: amongst them there was a golden salt-cellar, a cast of Norwegian hawks, scarlet cloths and fine linen from Rheims, with tapestry from Arras representing the actions of Alexander: his interest seemed about as much excited with such baubles as with the contemptible factions at Constantinople. John Palæologus had died five years before the battle of Nicopolis, and was succeeded by his second son, Manuel, A.D. 1391-1425; the sultan, however, patronised a nephew, John of Selybria, heir to Andronicus, the eldest representative of John IV., insisted upon and obtained an immediate though reluctant resignation, and from the palpable distress of the Byzantine metropolis, already conceived an idea of appropriating it himself. Manuel withdrew to the court of France, soliciting aid against his terrible tyrant and tormentor. Amurath I. had married a daughter of Manuel, and given her two sisters to two of his sons. Bajazet was daily more and more pressing upon the Bosphorus, when Timour the Tartar thundered at the door of his destiny, and suspended for another short interval the extinction of the Greek empire.

This mighty murderer of his fellow-creatures was the fourth in descent from Genghis, probably by the female line. Like him, he aspired to the dominion of the world, and before his death had placed on his brow seven-and-twenty crowns, which were won in the gory course of thirty-five campaigns. His birth was in A.D. 1335, and he died in A.D. 1406: although there are slight differences of statement arising from some confusion between the lunar and calendar calculations, he must have lived about seventy years. His overwhelming artillery, and armies numbered by hundreds of thousands, supported, as both seem to have been, by an extraordinary commissariat, carried all

before him. With the Koran in one hand, and a spell of demoniacal slaughter in the other; lame, awkward, and tall, with the soul of a despot, the genius of a legislator, and the arm of a conqueror; the grand imperial Tartar, not unfrequently styled Tamerlane, was to all intents and purposes a mere repetition of the founder of his own race; a revival of the Mongolian hurricane; himself the sorcerer, careering upon the wings of the storm which he had raised, —and then passing away, like a vision of judgment, sanguinary, devastative, spectral, and terrific. His inroads, rather than acquisitions, involved the entire extent of Iran, from the sources to the mouths of the Mesopotamian rivers, besides Chorasan and Candahar, in addition to his patrimony of Zagatai, the capital of Transoxiana. Proceeding to Western Tartary, he traced in blood the courses of the Tanais and the Wolga, from Azoph and Astrachan northwards to Moscow,—at a season when the rays of the setting and rising sun were scarcely separated by any interval; so that his vanity was gratified by the intermission of evening prayers, agreeably to the Mahometan superstition. He then returned eastward and southward to invade India, amidst murmurs from the hosts which followed him; who recoiled in imagination from the mountains and deserts that must be crossed, the warriors in armour that were to be encountered, and the elephants whose bulk and weight could crush their assailants into atoms. But Timour had shut the gates of mercy on mankind; and with ninety-two squadrons of cavalry he crossed the Indus at Attock, traversed the Punjaub, pillaged Delhi, passed the Ganges, and penetrated to the rock of Coupele, the statue of the sacred cow, 1100 miles from Calcutta. After a return along the northern hills of Nepaul to his capital of Samarcand, he summoned all the hosts of Persia to Ispahan, from whence he began his expedition through Georgia against the sultan Bajazet. The Mongolian and Ottoman conquests touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum. Timour was impatient of an equal; Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The former, after an exchange of menaces between himself and his rival, invaded Syria, where, as well as in Egypt, the Mamalouks still reigned; though the

dynasty of the Turks had been overthrown by that of the Circassians. Both found themselves unable to withstand the invincible representative of Genghis, who had instructed his troops to train the enormous quadrupeds they had once so dreaded, and which now bore upon their huge backs turrets full of archers and Greek fire. He sacked Aleppo A.D. 1400,—as also Damascus and Bagdad the following year; erecting on the ruins of the last a pyramid of 90,000 human heads. Preparations for devastating Armenia and Anatolia occupied the earlier part of the summer of A.D. 1402; where, on the 28th of July, in the plains round the city of Angora, was fought that memorable engagement which has immortalised the Tartar. It has been disputed whether cannon, such as the Europeans already had adopted, were used on this occasion or not; but the effects of an explosive compound, tantamount in its fearful operations to gunpowder, and employed on a tremendous scale to project missiles, and overwhelm battalions amidst thunder, smoke, and flames, materially contributed to decide the fortunes of the day. Bajazet fought with the fury of despair; but after his noble and faithful janizaries had fallen to a man, the sultan abandoned the field upon one of his fleetest horses. Suffering, in addition to this mortification, from the anguish of gout, to which his constitution was always liable, he yet turned upon his pursuers. But they threw a mantle over him, that he might be captured alive. Brought into the presence of Timour, his victor is said to have at first treated him with courtesy; until from jealousy, revenge, or caprice, he quite altered his policy. The unhappy prisoner was confined in an iron cage, which accompanied the movements of his conqueror, and exhibited the humbled Ottoman, like a wild beast, to the gaze of multitudes. Against the bars of it, Bajazet is even said to have beaten out his brains in a fit of desperation; whilst another account avers, that he died nine months after his overthrow, of an apoplexy, at Antioch in Pisidia. The great Mogul expired on the road to China, probably through an indiscreet indulgence in ice-water, which helped to inflame a fever from which he was suffering. He played chess to perfection, and endeavoured to enlarge and complicate the

game. Often he encouraged very learned men. His famous code of institutes was promulgated to govern posterity; but his own living voice not unfrequently administered a kind of rough and ready justice, with the promptitude and indiscriminateness of the most savage manners. The vastness of his empire vanished, as the grave opened for his remains. His children and grandchildren aspired to reign for themselves and their selfish purposes, as they quarrelled with each other, and with their subjects. The Ottomans, on the contrary, like Antæus, when he had touched the ground, sprang up again into more than their pristine prowess.

None of the European states could prevent this returning prosperity, after Mustapha, Solyman, Issem, and Mousa, the four foolish children of the late sultan, had torn each other to pieces, or corrupted their disobedient pashas: their follies and civil wars only planting a firm ladder, for the ascent to fame and potency of their fifth and famous brother, Mahomet I. A.D. 1413-21. His worthy heir, Amurath II., in an administration of thirty years, restored the Janizaries, consolidated the fabric of Turkish greatness, and although he failed in his siege of the Byzantine capital, A.D. 1422, yet so reduced its spirit and character, that a path was prepared for the triumph of his more brilliant son and successor. The Greek empire itself was limited to little more than the suburbs and lofty walls of its still beautiful metropolis; matchless in the majesty of its position and aspect, its numerous porticoes, its three hundred convents, and almost countless palaces and churches. On the defeat of Bajazet, Manuel hastened home from Modon in the Morea, where he was staying after his vain visit to France, England, and Italy; pushed aside his cousin, John of Selybria; reascended his paternal throne, and entered into various alliances with the representatives of the unfortunate Bajazet. But the arms of the second Amurath broke in upon his learned leisure. Whilst composing theological treatises in defence of schism, his apprehensions rather than his convictions compelled him once again to look westwards; and his ambassadors presented themselves at the council of Constance. On sinking into his grave, A.D. 1425, his son, John Palæologus, was permitted by the

Ottoman to reign, on payment of an annual tribute of 300,000 aspers, or about 2500*l.* sterling. This emperor had been already associated with his father, and imitated his example in opening negotiations with Rome for a fresh attempt to reunite the Churches. The pontifical galleys conveyed him to Venice, A.D. 1437-8; and the fathers of Florence, under Eugenius IV., could rejoice, though but for a brief and uncertain interval, in the orthodoxy of the East, apparently accepted even by the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites, and the Ethiopians. Hollow as it all proved, the fault of its insincerity lay in the incurable subtlety and lubricity of these nominally Christian Orientals. It can never be too often repeated, that continuous heresy must sap and undermine the foundations of virtue, integrity, and religious principle. Hence the Greeks seem to have been actuated solely by their fears and temporal interests. The extremity of their political distress formed the thermometer of their professions for a genuine return to unity.

The second John Palæologus lingered on until October A.D. 1448. Out of his five brothers, Andronicus died of a leprosy, after having sold his principality of Thessalonica to the Venetians; the four others, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, shared between them the Peloponnesus, which had been recovered, through some fortunate incidents, to the empire. The three last survived, and Constantine, the eldest of them, received the imperial diadem. Meanwhile Amurath was declining in life, as he culminated in secular glory. He had grown great through rare wisdom and moderation. He exhibited generosity towards the gallant but perfidious Scanderbeg, whom he twice vanquished and twice pardoned. Towards the strong he was firm; towards the weak merciful. In appropriating Greece, there were at least plausible grounds for the invasion, as he disputed the validity of the Venetian sale, besides being able to advance certain claims upon the Morea. Subsequently to his siege of Constantinople, at the commencement of his reign, he was never tempted by the absence, the poverty, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the flickering splendour of a crown with which he

was not at war. Twice he laid down his own sceptre, which he had so vigorously wielded, but to which he preferred retirement, and the society of dancing dervishes. During the interim of his first withdrawal, Eugenius IV. had formed a league against the Turks, which resulted in the fatal defeat of the Hungarians, under their young King Lladislaus Jagellon and the celebrated Hunniades, on the field of Varna, A.D. 1444. At the approach of peril, the sultan had quitted his retreat, and gained this important victory; yet, after nobly recording on a monumental column the royal valour of his youthful adversary, who had fallen, he again secluded himself from the allurements of pleasure and power, to fast and pray, and turn round in ceasless gyrations with his fanatical recluses. The confusions of Adrianople again summoned him into active life, from which his attached subjects would never let him any more retire. His son, Mahomet II., inherited many of his able qualities, with greater ambition and love of enterprise. From the moment he assumed the sultany, on the death of Amurath, in February A.D. 1451, he concentrated his whole soul upon seizing that prize, which his father had declined. His age was twenty-one. His mother, it is said, had been a Christian; yet so thoroughly was his own mind imbued with Islamism, that before age and prosperity had relaxed the narrowness of his bigotry, he always washed his hands and face after converse with any unbeliever in the false prophet. His vices were those of a polygamist and an autocrat; of a will corrupted by power, —inflamed without being refined, through a certain amount of mental activity and intellectual attainment. He could speak or understand several languages besides his own: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. With history and geography he was familiar; with the arts and sciences he was not unacquainted; and in military matters, if we could forget his formidable resources, and means almost irresistible, he might in that age pass for at least a prodigious proficient. Accumulated preliminaries were hastened towards the promotion of his grand design. An opportunity he was resolved to find, or make one for the purpose. He built a fortress on the Bosphorus. The

Byzantine sovereign respectfully remonstrated, through an envoy, who, on delivering the message from his master, was allowed to depart in safety, though at the same time informed, that the next ambassador presuming to impeach or criticise the conduct of Mahomet, might expect to be flayed alive! Every trifle was now magnified into an occasion for offence. Constantine foresaw the crisis, and shrank not from it. As the vital spark, in departing, will sometimes blaze into marvellous vigour and energy, so the last Christian emperor of Constantinople resolved to die at his post with dignity, and illuminate, if he could not prevent, destruction. His final announcement to the sultan sounded full of Roman magnanimity: "My trust is in God alone; if it should please Him to soften your heart, mine will rejoice in the happy change; should He deliver the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to His holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and fall in the defence of my people."

Mahomet, on the 6th of April, A.D. 1453, commenced his memorable siege. With 258,000 men, and a navy of 320 sail, including transports and store-ships, the standard of defiance was unfurled. Cannon of enormous calibre had been cast at Adrianople, one of which, founded in brass, had a measure of twelve palms for its bore, and would project a stone ball of 600 pounds in weight. The figure of the city formed a triangle, of which two sides were water, —the Propontis and the Golden Horn or Harbour; the third, or only land side, had a double wall, with a ditch 100 feet deep; and the whole fortification four miles in length. Here were made the principal attacks on the part of the Ottomans. Incessant showers of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, flashes, and thunder of artillery, supported by smaller fire-arms discharging five or ten leaden bullets at a time, as large as walnuts. After innumerable accidents and immense loss of life, some impression appears to have been made: the object with the assailants being to fill up the yawning fosse, and so make a road or bridge for the main assault; the besieged, on the contrary, were of course chiefly anxious to preserve the

abyss clear between themselves and their adversaries. At one time, a wooden turret, of the loftiest size, covered with triple hides, and advanced on rollers, was pushed forward against the tower of St. Romanus, with which it was to be connected by a drawbridge let down from the upper story. A breach was thus effected, amidst a death struggle of the fiercest description; but darkness came on before the Turks could enter, and during the night so inspiring and successful had been the courage of the emperor and Justiniani, his Genoese ally, that the mischief was repaired, and all the diabolical enginery of Mahomet reduced to ashes. Meanwhile a small but gallant convoy of five first-class vessels, laden with supplies and reinforcements, fought their course through the Ottoman navy, and dropt their anchors safely within the great chain of the haven. The genius of Mahomet then perceived that his solitary chance for success was to make a double attack upon the city from the harbour as well as from the land, and that to realise this plan, he must remove his vessels from the Propontis into the upper waters of the Golden Horn, a distance of at least ten miles. To force the mouth of the haven was out of the question, as it was far too strongly guarded. There was nothing left, therefore, but to attempt the overland road, of which the ground was uneven and entangled with thickets. Myriads of brawny arms, however, soon constructed a comparatively level platform of smooth planks, rendered slippery with the boiled fat of sheep and oxen. Upon this singular groove, or wooden railway, the lighter vessels were lifted and shoved along by main strength, much assisted, moreover, by the winds, which happened to be favourable, and to which the Turkish engineers unbosomed an abundance of canvass. The exploit was managed in a single night, during which fourscore long-boats, as they would now be called, under the momentum of many thousand men, potent breezes, rollers, pulleys, and windlasses, slowly yet securely steered their way, amidst songs and acclamations, from the sloping beach of the sea of Marmora, across to the shallow waters of the upper harbour, where they rode secure from the heavier and larger ships of their amazed

antagonists. They then rapidly contrived a floating battery on a raft of casks and hogsheads linked together with iron. Nocturnal sallies attempted to destroy these works, but in vain. Massacres of the most relentless character were perpetrated on both sides. Within the walls were the final fragments of an empire once universal, now contracted into a hell of evil passions, the foremost of them being despair; outside raged the bitterest foes of Christendom, exasperated into madness by their efforts, which had continued for forty days. Breaches opened in every direction, as battlements after battlements tumbled into dust under bombardments supported by more than 200,000 Moslems, firing, and fighting, and shouting from midnight to noon, and from noon to midnight. The leaders of the two great European Republics also rendered confusion worse confounded by their unseasonable jealousies and quarrels. The emperor alone maintained his dignity; he rejected dishonourable terms. The sultan resolved to succeed: promised double pay to his troops,—brought into his camp the most fanatical of his favourite soothsayers,—exhorted his soldiers to purify their bodies with no less than seven mystical ablutions; and after consulting his astrologers and the stars, fixed on the 29th of May for the final storm. Phranza, an eye and ear witness of what passed in the imperial palace, informs us that on the previous evening Constantine, having assembled his friends, officials, and most faithful commanders around him, prepared them in a solemn address for the duties and dangers of the imminent catastrophe. There was no hope but in their courage and swords. It was a pathetic scene. They wept, they embraced, they devoted their lives, the majority departed to their posts. It was then that with a few pious and affectionate followers the emperor resorted to the church of St. Sophia, and devoutly received, amidst many tears and prayers, the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. He also solemnly solicited forgiveness from all or any whom he might ever have injured; after which, indulging in a short season of repose, he mounted his horse before daybreak to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. These last religious rites had been truly Catholic.

The dreadful morning broke; and the assault began without further signal or command. The entire line of attack presented a twisted skein of conflict and carnage. The voice of the emperor was heard encouraging his soldiers to achieve by a last effort the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, says Gibbon, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself, on a war-steed, wielded an iron mace, and directed the tide of battle. The cries of fear and agony were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs. Danger was in the front, but death in the rear. Justiniani was at length wounded, and fled through a breach in the wall. The panic spread; the defence slackened; the Latin auxiliaries drew back; the ramparts were a heap of ruins; the Ottomans against the Greeks fifty to one in number. Constantine, who had never failed for an instant, mournfully exclaimed, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" These were his last words. He had cast away his purple, through fear of falling alive into the hands of the infidels; and by some unknown arm, he must have perished amidst the tumult. When his body had been discovered beneath a mountain of the slain, resistance and order ceased. The Turks entered sword in hand, driving the fugitives from street to street before them in the rage of promiscuous massacre; 2000 Christians were slaughtered on the spot. The siege had continued for fifty-three days altogether, so that pillage and rapine went forward without check or restraint either from the private soldiers or their chieftains. Houses and convents were deserted, their trembling inhabitants flocking in untold multitudes to the sanctuary of St. Sophia. It is remarkable enough that they thronged to this asylum for their personal safety, although not long before, when an union between the Greek and Latin Churches had been announced from its altars, these very people pretended to abhor the place as a profane and polluted edifice. Their present confidence was founded upon a prophecy, that here an angel would come down from heaven, and destroy their enemies with celestial weapons. But Ducas, the historian, justly upbraids the obstinacy and discord of his countrymen; "for," says he,

"had that angel actually appeared—had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to become orthodox Catholics, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your salvation, or have dared to deceive your God." In the afternoon, Mahomet paid a visit of state to the grand cathedral, which had already been cleared of its captives. By his command it was immediately transformed into a mosque—the crosses were thrown down—the walls, covered with pictures and mosaics, were washed and purified, that the whole might be reduced to a state of nakedness, which must be highly edifying to philosophy and Protestantism. On the same day, or the ensuing Friday, a crier ascended to the loftiest roof, and proclaimed the public invitation which Islam offers at the stated hours of prayer. An imaum preached, and the sultan himself performed the office of supplication and thanksgiving on that high and magnificent altar, where the Christian mysteries had so recently been celebrated before the last of the Constantines. In the Atmeidan his eye had been attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and as a trial of his strength he shattered with his iron battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters, which the Turks imagined to be the idols or talismans of the capital. The amount of spoil in the final poverty of the empire has been valued at 4,000,000 of ducats; an amount small both in value and interest, as contrasted with the hidden treasures of silver, jewels, and gold,—the precious curiosities of art,—the decorations of that miraculous dome which, nine centuries since, the proud era of Justinian had consecrated, and which his successors loved to compare with the firmament of heaven, the vehicle of the Cherubim, and the throne of divine glory,—to say nothing of the lore of literature accumulated in monasteries, libraries, and private collections. The conqueror must have surely experienced no ordinary emotions, when, on entering those imperial abodes, where a hundred emperors had reigned and revelled, but which a few hours had stript of the pomp of royalty, he repeated an elegant distich of *Persian* poetry,—"The spider hath woven her web in the *gorgeous* palaces, and the owl hath wailed his watchsong on *the towers* of Afrasiab!"

The corpse of Constantine had been recognised by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. It was decently interred amidst the lamentations of his late subjects; nor is the account very credible, which mentions, that the imperial head was sent round through the oriental regions of Asia Minor, Persia, and Arabia, as a token of triumph. The fallen metropolis was re-peopled, and adorned with new mosques, minarets, groves, and fountains. The families of Comnenus and Palæologus gradually wasted away on the obscure thrones of Greece and Trebizond for a very few years, and ultimately disappeared altogether, in the shadowy titles claimed by some of the reigning houses in Italy, France, or Spain. The despot Thomas of the Morea conveyed the head of St. Andrew the Apostle to the Vatican, a service not to be despised, and the solitary one which he was ever accused of rendering to mankind. All Europe was moved, as well it might, when the intelligence spread that the Crescent had displaced the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia. Greece and the whole of Western Asia acknowledged the Ottoman sceptre. Selim I. afterwards secured the subjection of Moldavia, and still later that of Egypt and Syria. Damascus and Jerusalem were the prizes of his victory at Dabek, A.D. 1516, when he overthrew not merely the Mamalouks but the titular successor of the Prophet. He thus became Chadim al Haramaim, or Keeper of the Sacred Places; and through him the present Grand Signior is in a religious, as well as secular sense, the Supreme Head of the orthodox Moslem. Selim I. was succeeded by his son, Solyman the Magnificent, A.D. 1520, who acquired Erzeroum, and a large portion of Georgia, besides defeating the Knights of St. John in the island of Rhodes, and the army of King Lewis of Hungary at Mohacs, A.D. 1527, whereby the crowns of St. Stephen and Bohemia ultimately passed into the Austrian family of Hapsburg. With a single exception, a period of nine reigns, from the elevation of Othman to the dissolution of Solyman, is occupied by a rare series of warlike and active princes; the principle of hereditary descent was universally recognised, and instead of vanishing into anility, or *even political annihilation*, in three or four generations,

the Ottoman succession has now subsisted for five centuries and a half. Turkish education and discipline raised and maintained such an effective military power, that although it has accurately been affirmed that the Ottomans only encamped as it were upon the territorial surface of Christendom, their institutions still continue to overshadow some of the finest countries in the world. They fell, indeed, into a state of decline, from the innate rottenness and corruption of their false religion and system. The mere conquest of Rhodes cost the deaths of 180,000 Mussulmen; and that of Candia, in the next century, A.D. 1669, more than 200,000. Even amidst the triumphs of Solyman himself the canker of decay began to appear. He organised the divan, and sacrificed half a dozen of his own sons, with 50,000 of their adherents, to his suspicions, which established at once the future domination of eunuchs, and the confinement of the heir apparent to the demoralisations of the seraglio. Meanwhile, at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, the Abuhafides were set aside by Aruk Barbarossa; and about the same time, the Sheriffs, supposed to be derived from the prophet of the Arabs, supplanted the Merinides in the provinces of Fez and Morocco, A.D. 1517-19. Selim II., who succeeded Solyman, had 2000 women in his harem, although he had sufficient energy left to wrest Cyprus from the Venetians, who had acquired it through the family of Lusignan. Pius V., a canonised pontiff, appealed once more to terrified Europe, and under his auspices, Don John of Austria gained the grand battle of Lepanto, A.D. 1571, from the effects of which the naval power of Turkey never recovered. Henceforward voluptuousness set no bounds to its development at Stamboul; the invaders degenerated into a mere dominant soldiery; the Janizaries keeping their own despot in order beneath the terrors of the bowstring, himself the slave of slaves. In fact, as already intimated, between the victors and the vanquished there could never be any amalgamation; as to affairs of religion, the two nations simply abhorred each other; neither would the language in which antiquity had *gloried blend* with the rude speech of a nomadic horde, *antagonistic* in its nature to the demands of modern civilisa-

tion. The Turkish tongue, intermixed with innumerable Arabic, Persic, and Zagay words, has different characters for the use of different classes. The vowels have no characters at all, and the thirty-three consonants only seventeen, to express their extraordinary varieties. European literature, therefore, could exercise little or no influence on the Ottomans. Bagdad and Candia were their ultimate acquisitions of any importance, as Amurath IV. was their last great padisha with regard to ability; and he died, worn out by intemperance, A.D. 1640. His nephew, Mahomet IV., in the person of his grand vizier, received a decisive overthrow on the banks of the Raab from the imperial general Montecuculi, which led to the treaty of Temeswar, A.D. 1644, disastrous to Turkey, scarcely less so than the subsequent one of Carlowitz after the victory of Prince Eugene at Zenta, A.D. 1698; preceded, as that had been fourteen years before, by the retreat of Kara Mustapha from the walls of Vienna at the approach of John Sobieski. Two circumstances occurred providentially favourable to Europe when she might have had most to dread from the consolidation of Ottoman prowess: the first was a considerable check on the side of Persia, which, escaping from Mongolian thraldom, and passing through the usual course of Asiatic revolutions, settled down under Ishmael Sophi, about A.D. 1500, attaining its greatest influence under Shah Abbas, A.D. 1585-1628. The Sophis belonged to the sect of Ali, and were therefore opposed to the Turks with all the acrimony of religious as well as military rivalship. The other fortunate coincidence was the introduction of that balance of power throughout Christendom, which constitutes so distinctive a feature of modern policy. We shall see how this celebrated system arose in the course of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1300-1500.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE THROUGHOUT THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

We have already seen that the Popes had reason to repent of their liberality and confidence as manifested towards Charles of Anjou, the ambitious brother of St. Louis. He had extinguished with no little cruelty the odious Hohenstauffens, whose worldly and irreligious spirit seemed to have passed into his own bosom. Rudolph of Hapsburg had formed a partial equipoise to his dangerous policy, while the Sicilian Vespers read him a lesson too terrible to be ever forgotten. He retained, however, the realm of Naples, and transmitted it to his family. His son, Charles II., had married Mary, the sister of Lladislaus, king of Hungary, through which connection, as Lladislaus died without issue, the crowns of Naples and Hungary, both of them fiefs of the Holy See, became strangely entangled with each other. Angevin princes, in fact, throughout the fourteenth century, acquired and governed Provence, Naples, Hungary, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Croatia, and Poland. No French royal family had possessed more extensive territories since the time of Charlemagne. Had their dominions been but united under one head of commanding ability, it would have become even in that age the greatest power in Europe. On the decease of Charles, who survived Mary, Clement V., at Avignon, awarded the sceptre of St. Stephen to Charobert, the grandson and legal representative of Mary; his uncle Robert, the eldest living son of Charles II., ascended the throne of Naples, A.D. 1305; the two elder brothers, Charles Martel, the father of Charobert, and Louis, who selected the religious life, were dead. Robert reigned well. He judiciously maintained the ascendency of the Guelfs, and the papal influence, generally inseparable from it, against the formidable combination of Ghibelline usurpers in Lombardy, and the two

emperors, Henry VII. and Louis of Bavaria. No male issue survived Robert, whose crown descended to his granddaughter Joanna, espoused while a child to her cousin Andrew, son of Charobert the Hungarian monarch. She was imagined to have murdered him, A.D. 1343, though she was pronounced innocent, on her solemn trial before Pope Clement VI. Her comparatively undisturbed administration of thirty years followed; yet remaining childless by four husbands, it soon became an important speculation as to who should succeed her. Charles Duke of Durazzo had married her niece; and after the queen had been dethroned, and smothered with a pillow in prison, he considered his government secure, under the title of Charles III., A.D. 1378. He was then tempted in an evil hour to accept the throne of Hungary, which terminated in his assassination, A.D. 1385. He left an heir, Lladislaus, ten years of age, against whom Louis II., Duke of Anjou, waged a civil war for Provence and Naples, claiming both the county and kingdom as bequests from the late Joanna. The former he contrived to retain, but the latter, after various fluctuations of fortune, he ultimately lost. Lladislaus grew up to display remarkable energy in crushing the potent feudal aristocracy of his states, which unhappily emboldened him to strike at the patrimony of St. Peter. Rome itself fell into his hands, just as spoil is seized by a robber. His decease, before he could attack either Florence or Lombardy, transferred the throne to an elder sister, Joanna II., a licentious princess, under whose feeble sway anarchy rode rampant over the south of Italy. In A.D. 1421 the leaders of two factions were Sforza Attendolo, the great constable, and Gianni Caraccioli, a royal minion; these brigands sharing between them whatever their mistress might have to bestow, and the first of them calling in a pretender to the crown, in another Duke of Anjou, Louis III. After many varieties of conflict and devastation, and the nomination by the queen, after his death, of his brother Regnier for her heir, in lieu of Alphonso, King of Aragon and Sicily, whom Caraccioli had suggested, and in which suggestion she had for the time acquiesced,—the final termination turned in favour of Al-

phonso. This sovereign, surnamed the Magnanimous, permanently founded the Aragonese dynasty of Neapolitan and Sicilian monarchs. His illegitimate son, Ferdinand, on the demise of his father, A.D. 1458, had to struggle hard for his succession; yet it came to be generally acknowledged, A.D. 1464. Henceforward, for at least a generation, the firm grasp of an able hand upon the helm of affairs kept the state afloat; but it was at the perpetual sacrifice of good faith towards his subjects. The nation was again ready for revolt against himself or his son Alphonso; and Ferdinand is supposed to have died through apprehensions of the tempest about to break upon his family, in the approaching invasion of the King of France.

Meanwhile, during the period when Rudolph of Hapsburg and the crafty Charles of Anjou were laying the foundations of secular grandeur for their respective houses, others began also to emerge from obscurity into greatness with proportionable strides. The Counts of Nassau derived their descent from Otho, the brother of that Conrad who obtained the diadem of Germany on the extinction of the Carlovingians, just before Henry the Fowler at the commencement of the tenth century. Adolphus of this lineage, or at least that branch of it bearing the name of Weilburg, was elected to the empire on the death of Rudolph. Albert of Austria succeeded him, and was assassinated, A.D. 1308, after a series of successful aggressions upon Meissen and Thuringia, as well as upon numerous states, which effectually excluded his posterity from the imperial throne for four generations. Henry Count of Luxemburg succeeded Albert, and also obtained the crown of Bohemia for his son John, who had married the sister of the last representative of its ancient sovereigns. Henry VII., having crossed the Alps with no friendly views for Italy, was poisoned at Pisa, A.D. 1313. Lewis of Bavaria was elected in his place the following year; but the chiefs of the house of Luxemburg, coalescing with the *Guelfs*, effectually counteracted the Bavarian family of *Wittelsbach*; notorious as the latter has always been for its intestine quarrels and divisions. On the decease of

Lewis, A.D. 1347, Charles, son and heir of John king of Bohemia, was universally recognised as King of the Romans and Emperor of Germany. It appeared to be his chief object, during an administration of thirty years, to increase the power and splendour of his family, by obtaining from the alienable domains and privileges the greatest possible amount of money and other advantages. He had invested large sums in procuring the diadem, and therefore felt justified, as he thought, in making whatever he could out of it. He was careful also to support such a degree of external pomp as seemed consistent with the majesty of his imperial rank and position. An almost felicitous mediocrity ran through his entire character. On his journey into Italy, he sold freedom to some of the towns; and independent power, on the other hand, to certain tyrants who domineered over and oppressed considerable districts in that country. With him, it was simply to pay and have. He promised, moreover, never to visit again the garden of Europe, without permission from the Pope, and never to spend a night in Rome. To Charles IV. the empire was indebted for the Golden Bull, which regulated the election of future emperors, A.D. 1355. The number of electors was absolutely restrained to seven; and at Metz, in the market-place, a dramatic entertainment was given to illustrate once for all their precise character and functions. Prelates, princes, and magistrates attended on the splendid occasion. The emperor and empress, in their imperial robes, having heard a solemn mass, repaired to the sumptuous platform raised for their accommodation. Amidst universal acclamations the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, as the three Arch-chancellors of Germany, France and Italy, appeared on horseback, each having a seal depending from his neck, and a letter in his right hand. These were followed by the four secular electors, all magnificently mounted on caparisoned chargers: first the Duke of Saxony of the Wittenbourg branch, with a silver peck measure full of oats, as arch-marshal of the empire; and as it was his duty to regulate the proceedings, he alighted, and arranged his colleagues in their *right places*. Then the Margrave of Branden-

burg, dismounting, presented the sovereign and his consort with a golden basin of water, and an ewer of the same precious metal. The Count Palatine of the Rhine, in exclusion of Bavaria, then served up the viands on a service of gold; after which a nephew of Charles, to represent the kingdom of Bohemia, placed at one corner of the table a golden flagon of wine, out of which into a cup of gold he poured a suitable draught, and presented it to the emperor. Charles IV., being himself king of Bohemia, aggrandised it to the utmost. Having acquired Brandenburg partly by conquest, and partly by a compact of succession in A.D. 1373, he annexed that electorate, with which he had invested his own sons, to the Bohemian monarchy; so that it seemed as though he had a certain prospect of always securing a second vote in the interests of his family. He constantly resided at Prague, which he greatly embellished with handsome buildings, and a somewhat celebrated university. Silesia also augmented his possessions, both as to territory and wealth; for he valued the latter quite as much as the former, having never been able to forget that in his earlier life at Worms he had once been arrested by his butcher for an unliquidated pecuniary demand. He had obtained the imperial succession for his son Wenceslaus, who, ascending the throne, on the death of his father, A.D. 1378, was nevertheless deposed, and limited to the government of his hereditary dominions, A.D. 1400. Frederick Duke of Brunswick was chosen into his place, and murdered almost immediately by a private enemy. Robert the Count Palatine, and Jodochus, Margrave of Moravia, a prince of Luxemburg, and nephew of Charles IV., each wore the coveted insignia, one after the other, until Sigismond, the younger brother of Wenceslaus, was at length unanimously appointed Emperor of Germany, A.D. 1411. This personage, so prominent in history, was already sovereign of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, through his marriage with Mary of Anjou, eldest granddaughter of Charobert, on the death of her father Lewis II. Eight years after his election to the empire he *assumed the* crown of Bohemia, vacated by the demise of *Wenceslaus*. From the Pope he received the diadem, to

all which dignities he added the sovereignty over Moravia, Lausitz, Silesia and Brandenburg. Calumny has connected with his name a violation of safe-conduct, as it has been called, in permitting the execution of John Huss, at the Council of Constance; and for eighteen years the adherents of that enthusiast, under the blind John Zisca and Procopius, both able fanatics, so shook and thwarted his administration, that it was only for a few months prior to his decease that he could exchange the sword for the sceptre. Zisca, although totally without sight, has won the fame of having invented the art of modern fortification. By his skill he rendered a famous mountain, near the Bohemian capital, on which he imposed the title of Thabor, an impregnable intrenchment. Having perished through the plague in A.D. 1424, the skin of their deceased captain was stretched by his followers upon a drum, that its sound and associations might awaken their valour, amidst the horrors of a midnight foray, or open onslaught. The sect of the Calixtines, who were desirous of participating in the chalice of the Holy Communion, even whilst remaining amongst the laity, arose out of this rebellion. From the battle of Nicopolis against the Turks, Sigismond narrowly escaped; and so poor was he, beneath the weight of so many honours, that he sold the electorate of Brandenburg for 400,000 marks, to the wise and warlike Count of Nürnberg, Frederick of Hohenzollern. Another Frederick, Margrave of Meissen, purchased for a quarter of that sum the electoral hat of Saxony. The hereditary estates of Hapsburg, which the Swiss had seized for the imperial use and benefit, and under his own order, the destitute Sigismond felt also compelled to alienate.

Bohemia generally manifested a mixture of the elective and hereditary principles: the sceptre passing, in ordinary circumstances, to the nearest heir of the royal blood, unless for some strong reason. Feudally dependent upon the empire, it required an investiture for each new monarch; who possessed, as we have seen, the right of exercising one of the seven elective suffrages in return. The daughter of Sigismond, by a second marriage, became the consort of Albert Duke of Austria, who succeeded, on the strength

of this alliance, his imperial father-in-law in Hungary. Dying, however, two years afterwards, and leaving his widow pregnant, the Magyar states, jealous of Austrian influence, without waiting for her delivery, bestowed their elective crown upon Uladislaus Jagellon, king of Poland, A.D. 1440. This gallant prince fell on the fatal field of Varna; upon which the Austrian interest again revived, and Lladislaus, the young grandson of Sigismond, born after the death of his father Albert, was placed on the throne, with John Hunniades, a native hero, for his regent and guardian. He it was who kept the Ottomans at bay for twelve years, baffling even Mahomet II., and relieving Belgrade, A.D. 1456. Hunniades expired soon after this achievement, quickly followed moreover by his royal pupil at Prague. Matthias Corvinus, son of the great Hunniades, was then chosen, who adorned the crown he wore through an entire generation, as a generous patron of literature, down to his decease, A.D. 1490. *Bohemia* had descended from Sigismond, A.D. 1438, to Albert and his posthumous representative Lladislaus; on whose death, in A.D. 1458, George Podiebradsky, a private nobleman, was elected by the Hussite faction. His life and administration terminating A.D. 1471, and the house of Luxembourg being extinct, the Bohemian diet pitched upon Uladislaus, son of Casimir the Great, king of Poland, who nineteen years afterwards, on the demise of Matthias Corvinus, obtained also the kingdom of Hungary. Both these crowns were conferred on his son Lewis, or Uladislaus II., A.D. 1516, the same who was drowned in the Danube when escaping from the unfortunate defeat of Mohacz, A.D. 1527. Ferdinand of Austria, the younger brother of Charles V., having married Anne, the only daughter and sister of the two last Bohemian and Hungarian sovereigns, laid hands upon their extensive territories, which have ever since remained in his family. Switzerland, which had been part of the united realm of Burgundy and Arles, had become blended with the Germanic empire, through the bequest of Rudolph III. in the *eleventh* century, A.D. 1032. In the subsequent age its towns and cities developed into considerable prosperity, as

did also the ecclesiastical foundations of St. Gall, Seckengen, and others. Every variety of feudalism long lingered and nestled among the Alps, or around Berne, Fribourg, Basil, Zuric, and their rich plains or valleys. Albert, the son of Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, afterwards emperor, was their earliest oppressor; and the confederacy, which emancipated the cantons, may be dated A.D. 1308. The victory of Sempach, seven-and-seventy years later, consolidated their liberties; and their burghers and peasants must be numbered with the principal restorers of Greek and Roman tactics, which place the strength of armies in a steady mass of infantry. Their absolute independence, however, was not politically recognised or ratified until the reign of Maximilian, in A.D. 1500. The House of Savoy, we may also observe, had found its ancestors and oldest possessions along the lakes of Annecy and Geneva. Through the marriage of his parents, Odo and Adelaide heiress of Ivrea, Count Amadeus was enabled to combine all the Lower Vallais, from St. Maurice to Chillon, with the district of Aosta, Turin, and the country of Piedmont, and a number of fortresses reaching to the Mediterranean Sea. Commanding the entrances into the passes of the Alps, his descendants acquired nearly the entire Pays de Vaud, aggrandising themselves from time to time at the expense of both Guelfs and Ghibellines, until from Charles IV., A.D. 1365, the Green Count of Savoy received an imperial vicegerency extending over twelve dioceses; to which the ducal dignity was added by Sigismond, A.D. 1416. It is remarkable, that all the ruling princes of this family fought at the head of their own armies; which may partially explain the strong tie of attachment which has ever subsisted between them and their native subjects. Their policy has been as profound as their valour. Among their neighbours were the princes of Montserrat, deriving an origin from the Greek emperors, with whom the House of Savoy formed matrimonial connections, securing the succession for themselves. In the middle of the fifteenth century they established, as a domestic law, the right of primogeniture and the *indivisibility* of their dominions.

From a younger branch of the House of Upper Bur

gundy descended a family with fortunes somewhat analogous to those of Savoy, only in another part of Europe,—the lords of Chalons, afterwards heirs to the Prince of Orange, and ancestors of an illustrious heiress, who brought all the estates of the Chalons-Orange lineage into the House of Nassau. We must except, however, the canton or county of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, over which the representatives of a female stock, derived from the ancient dukes of Longueville, were suzerains for two centuries and a half; until, on the decease of the last without issue, the citizens declared themselves in favour of Frederick king of Prussia, A.D. 1707, also descended from the family of Orange. Frederick the Burgrave of Nürnberg had purchased, as we have seen, the Marches of Brandenburg from the impoverished Sigismond, whilst in many other ways he proved himself among the most able ancestors of those potentates who founded in modern times their regal prowess at Berlin, and illustrated the Prussian dynasty of Hohenzollern. The son of this Frederick, A.D. 1440, sowed the seed of future pretensions to Poland, which partially his posterity realised under Frederick the Great. That kingdom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries underwent a variety of revolutions incident to the wretched form of its constitution and government. The ancient race of the Piasts expired A.D. 1370, after a duration of 500 years, in the person of the celebrated Casimir, a conqueror and legislator, the founder of the university at Cracow. He was succeeded by the son of his sister, Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary, and whose father had given up Red Russia to Poland for the prospect of the succession. Sigismond had married the elder of his two daughters, who were his only children, obtaining thereby the Hungarian crown, which ought to have carried with it, according to compact, that of Poland also: but it did not; for Hedwiga, the younger princess, retained the Sarmatian throne, and placed on it, by her side, Jagellon Grand Duke of Lithuania, who, together with all his subjects, adopted the Christian faith, A.D. 1386. This alliance combined under a single sceptre, not only the former possessions of the Piasts and the principality of which Wilna is the capital, but also Volhynia, in addition

to Red Russia. The eldest offspring of the first Jagellon, by a fourth marriage, was the young king Uladislaus, who fell at Varna, A.D. 1444. His next brother, Casimir, ascended the throne of Poland, that of Hungary reverting to Austria. Casimir greatly aggrandised his people in their struggle with the Teutonic Knights, and not only acquired Polish Prussia, but a feudal superiority also over the remainder of the Prussian territory. After his dissolution in A.D. 1492, his third son, John Albert, was elected the following year, the eldest Uladislaus being king of Bohemia and Hungary. On the decease of John Albert, A.D. 1501, without issue, the choice descended upon Alexander, fourth son of Casimir; who dying A.D. 1507, transferred his dignity to his elder brother Sigismond, the second son of his father Casimir. No wonder was it, that by this time the House of Jagellon began to excite considerable attention, if not jealousy, throughout Europe in general, and Germany in particular. Its sovereigns had intermarried with Russian princesses. Just as the Greek empire was sinking in the south, the Czar Ivan Basilovitch, equally immersed in religious schism, was emancipating his countrymen in the north from their thraldom of two centuries to the yoke of the Tartars, A.D. 1462. He endeavoured to enkindle some spirit of national energy and industry,—began to overawe his neighbours,—bestowed much encouragement on the commerce of the Hanseatic League,—claimed Smolensko and Pleskow as his own, and concluded a treaty of partition with the Danish monarch Christiern, against Sweden. The race of Woden had expired in that region long before; and in the fourteenth century, the old heroic and royal genealogies ended in Margaret, usually styled the Semiramis of the Baltic; who, after defeating, with the courage and genius of her forefathers, Albert of Mecklenburg, sovereign of Sweden, compelled him to abandon his pretensions, and united in her own proper person the three Scandinavian kingdoms, by the grand Pacification of Calmar, A.D. 1398. Leaving no children at her death, in A.D. 1412, her cousin and successor, Erich the Pomeranian, after an administration of twenty-seven years, was exiled *and dethroned*, when Denmark invited Christo-

pher the Bavarian, A.D. 1439-48, who was also acknowledged by Sweden and Norway. The House of Oldenburg, on the decease of Christopher, obtained the united crowns of Denmark and Norway, in the person of Christiern the First. He and his grandson, the second of the same name, contended with Charles Canuteson and Steno Sture for the Swedish prize; a contest lasting for seventy years, to the age of Gustavus Vasa. The superiority and covetousness of the Czars of Muscovy thus began to appear at an early period.

Ivan, amongst other symptoms of civilisation, opened an intercourse with the German emperors. On the decease of Sigismond, A.D. 1438, Albert II. of Austria, who had married his only daughter, was elected to the imperial diadem, as well as the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia. His removal by dysentery, within a twelvemonth, led to the election of the next surviving representative of the Austrian family, Frederick III., of the Styrian line. Throughout a protracted and uninteresting reign of fifty-three years, A.D. 1440-93, he acquired the surname, or rather nickname, of the Pacific, studied chemistry and astrology when he should have been governing his subjects, and from low living and slothful habits contracted an ulcer in his leg, which led to amputation. Yet he lived to witness the extinction of all his collateral relatives,—to see his son Maximilian nominated as his successor, appointed heir to his cousin of the Tyrol, and espoused to the heiress of Burgundy,—and to declare, when he beheld his own limb cut off, that a healthy peasant was more to be envied than an infirm and mutilated monarch. Yet he had the sound sense of religion in a sufficient degree to add, that the greatest good which can befal any man, is a happy departure out of this life; in other words, to suffer here rather than hereafter. The position of his successor was miserably uncomfortable. Seated on a throne of thorns, he had to maintain the highest secular rank in the world with the smallest means. His style in history is *that of* Maximilian the Moneyless; yet it was under his *reign that* the European nations began to comprehend *the necessity* of attending to a political balance of power.

for the security of the weaker against the stronger governments. The expedition of Charles VIII. king of France, A.D. 1494, against Naples, produced the matrimonial alliance of his son Philip the Fair with Juanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic sovereigns of Spain. Towards the termination of the thirteenth century, the Christian portion of the peninsula was ruled over by the four kings of Navarre, Aragon, Castile and Leon, and Portugal. Ferdinand was the son of John II., who had inherited Aragon and Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Isles, and Sicily, from his brother Alphonso the Wise. Isabella was sister to Henry IV., the last monarch of Castile and Leon, with Murcia and its dependencies. The happy nuptials of the Aragonese prince with the Castilian princess, A.D. 1469, blended into one common interest more than three-fourths of those fertile regions between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean. The conquest of Grenada, which alone remained to the Moors, was accomplished A.D. 1492, seven hundred and seventy-eight years after their first irruption in A.D. 714. Naples and Navarre quickly followed in the wake of Ferdinand's astute policy. Portugal, moreover, was diverted from acting aggressively against Castile by the more alluring development of her maritime and commercial greatness. Her career from the twelfth century had been, upon the whole, a culminating one. Sancho el Poplador, A.D. 1185, advanced with unshaken courage in the footsteps of his father, the first king. His grandson, Alphonso III., assisted to complete the acquisition of the Algarves. At a still later period, Denis, A.D. 1279-1325, prevailed on his more powerful Christian neighbours to forego and surrender every vestige of paramount supremacy over the smaller country. Both powers zealously supported the Church; and received from Rome various favours and indulgences in return. The reign of Denis shed lustre and felicity over his land and age. Pedro imitated his grandsire, A.D. 1357-67; but his only grand-daughter having espoused John king of Castile, and male representatives failing, the nationality and insulation of the Portuguese again seemed *in danger*, A.D. 1383. At this critical junc-

ture, John, an illegitimate son of Pedro, and Grand Master of the Military and Ecclesiastical Order of Aviz, placed himself at the head of the patriotic party, as against the Castilians. The States at Coimbra elected him to the crown, backed by the voice of the people, from the Minho to the Algarves; their choice being furthermore ratified by the splendid victory of Aljubarotta, A.D. 1385. The reign of Don John lasted forty-eight years. His armies conquered Ceuta beyond the Straits; while his third son, Henry, resided on the coasts of the ocean, and by his discoveries gave the first impulse to the establishment of a new order of things throughout the world. Under his auspices the geography of the globe was explored upon scientific principles. Madeira was reached A.D. 1419, by Zarco, who found on the island an Englishman named Machem, or Markham, driven thither and cast away in a storm. Cabral landed upon the two Azores, dedicated to the Holy Virgin and St. Michael. Terceira, Fayal, St. Thomas, and the verge of Africa as far south as Congo, were successively examined. Alphonso V., grandson of Don John, defeated the Moors of Fez, took the Alcassar of Cegu and Arzilla, entered the gates of Tangiers, and laid trains of influence and circumstances for those coming after him; which enabled them to investigate the almost forgotten paths to fame and fortune of the Carthaginians, the Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies. At length Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and pushed his adventurous navigation to India, A.D. 1497-8. The Portuguese established themselves on the shores of Malabar; made themselves masters of Goa, Malacca, and Ormuz; and monopolised the rich trade of the Orient. Nor was Spain behindhand in the commercial race. The voyages of Christopher Columbus and Americus Vespucius, followed up as they were by the adventures of Cortez and his other countrymen, unveiled new empires and fresh fields of enterprise for merchant heroes and European governments. Before the discovery, however, of the western world, Don John II. had succeeded his father, A.D. 1481. He married his only lawful son to Isabella, the eldest daughter of the Spanish sovereigns; but the young prince dying before himself, she was

ed, though reluctantly, to enter into second nuptials Emanuel, duke of Beija, who ascended the throne of ugal, on the death of his cousin without lawful issue, 1495. Such is a rapid sketch of the state and re- is of the Iberian peninsula, when the attack of France Naples effected that matrimonial alliance, of which les V. was the offspring, together with his brother nand. Through the unexpected removal of her sister ildbirth, and the previous dissolution of her brother, ell as of the children of both their respective mar- s, Juanna, the mother of Charles, became heiress to llustrious parents. The decease, moreover, of Philip 'air, completed the clearance away of all competitors; at at last, those very politicians who had been most us for a confederacy against Charles VIII., perceived the equipoise might soon be disturbed from an op- quarter,—when the grandson of Maximilian and nand saw before him no less an inheritance than with all her crowns, the two Sicilies, Sardinia, and the ric islands, the County of Burgundy, and the erlands, all the possessions of Austria in Germany, influence on the coasts of Barbary and north of , the territories and exhaustless opulence of Mexico, agnificent sovereignty of the Incas of Peru; and, as truly proved, the imperial dignity into the bargain, he subsequent disposal of the sceptres of Hungary Bohemia.

; was Italy, nevertheless, that was to prove the grand ictress to other countries, in politics as well as religion. ie governments which existed in her numerous re- es during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no definite outlines can be traced. According to the lence of Guelfs or Ghibellines, each constitution pre- d a greater or less preponderance of the popular or cratic element. A final appeal seems generally to been reserved to the mass of the people on critical ions; but Frederick I. had contrived to appoint officers s own in many cases, called Podestas, in lieu of the ve consuls. This memorial of despotism, strange to although abolished in the universal rebellion against

Barbarossa, was revived after the Pacification of Constance, perhaps from the want being felt of greater strength in the executive than merely democratical institutions can often afford. The Podesta was usually of noble family, chosen by a select number of the citizens, sometimes for a year only, or for peculiar emergencies, with a fixed salary, and powers of an elastic nature. When the rural nobility were compelled to reside within municipal walls, they brought with them the pride of rank and the seeds of dissension. Towns of any importance became local furnaces of human passions and contending interests. The principles of freedom and feudalism, of birth and commerce, of territorial weight and moveable wealth, enkindled into furious antagonism, like the demons or spirits supposed to be incarcerated in the crucible of a magician. When the Popes removed to Avignon, an enormous deduction was withdrawn from the popular element: and from that period, more particularly, there grew up a swarm of titled tyrants, upon a smaller or larger scale, who hired the Free Companies of their time to effect their private purposes. Such civil contests, as were purely waged for oligarchical or municipal command, may be traced at Milan, Modena, Cremona, Bologna, and a few other places, so early as A.D. 1225-50. Hallam says truly, that a nobility is always insolent, and a populace equally intemperate; but thus it was that public liberty got perpetually sacrificed; and amidst the establishment of puny despotisms upon the ruins of minor republics, a few leading states swallowed up or overawed the rest. It was in this way that Genoa, the city of palaces, had fallen under the yoke of Milan. After the overthrow of the Hohenstauffens, Matteo Visconti consolidated his supremacy in the capital of Lombardy, torn and spoiled as it had been for nearly a generation between his own fierce faction and that of the Torriani. He became leader of the Ghibellines A.D. 1313. Within forty years all the regions round acknowledged his dominion. His armorial device was a viper,—apt symbol of *his hostility* to the Church of Rome, in her various visible *and invisible* ramifications. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, whose administration commenced in A.D. 1385, governed abso-

lutely from Vercelli in Piedmont to Feltre and Belluno; besides exercising immense influence at Pisa, Sienna, Perugia, and even Bologna. The union of his daughter Valentine with the Duke of Orleans, in the fifth year of his reign, transmitted a claim to her descendants, the twelfth Louis and the first Francis of France, from which many long calamities were derived. The Emperor Wenceslaus erected the state into a dukedom A.D. 1395. The only two sons of the first duke were expelled for cruelty, and one put to death; but Philip, the survivor, married Beatrice of Tende, the widow of Fantino Cane, lord of Alexandria, Tortosa, and Novara, who had bequeathed them to his consort; so that her second husband, made more potent than before his exile, returned to Milan with an army of mercenaries, and executed the demagogues. The same prince, within a brief period, beheaded Beatrice on a pretended charge of adultery; and after considerably enlarging his frontiers, at length expired in the lap of voluptuousness A.D. 1447. His sole offspring was a natural daughter, Blanca, who had selected for her husband Francesco, the son of Sforza Attendolo, Great Constable to Joanna II. of Naples. Sforza commanded a numerous Free Company; and, successful in his marriage, as also in gaining the confidence of the Milanese, who, after a revolution, nominated him to the generalship of their forces, he seized upon the dukedom. At his decease in A.D. 1467 a citadel had been erected, as an iron curb against any future resumption of freedom; and the limits of the ducal dominions included immense regions, which were subsequently severed by the Venetians, the Grisons, the Swiss, and the Dukes of Savoy and Parma. The decline of Genoa may be dated from the celebrated war of Chioggia with Venice, A.D. 1352. Notwithstanding the energy then displayed, she could never perfectly recover from the unnatural efforts she had made. Pressed in the east by the splendours of her ancient rival, the Queen of the Adriatic, and opposite her own harbour by the domineering and lawless vigour of the Catalans, she followed the curious example of Florence in contracting a loan, through large sums borrowed of private citizens, to whom the *public revenues* were pledged for repayment.

Corsica still remained in their possession; but the Genoese were pulled down by the violence of their own parties, the Adorni and Fregosi. Like a pendulum, they vibrated between France and Lombardy; and in A.D. 1488, the Duke of Milan became sovereign, with an Adorno holding office as his vicegerent. Galeazzo Sforza had succeeded his father Francesco; and by his debauchery, tyranny, and insolence, having excited a conspiracy against him, in which he was assassinated, A.D. 1476, his infant offspring, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, nominally assumed the government, in the person of his mother, the Duchess Bonne of Savoy; although she had soon to withdraw from the regency, and yield to the brother of her husband, Ludovico Sforza, commonly called the Moor, A.D. 1480. This monster, after proclaiming the majority of his nephew, usurped an absolute control over his inheritance; finding, however, when he had done so, that one crime requires to be completed by another. He therefore secretly contrived to undermine his constitution with a slow poison; but standing in fear of Ferdinand of Naples, into whose family the injured prince had married, he excited the King of France to revive the Angevin rights upon that realm, and attempt the conquest of at least one of the two Sicilies, A.D. 1493. Charles VIII. was only too ready to listen to his suggestions.

Venice meanwhile was not to be overlooked, since so much might turn on the part she would be disposed to take in the struggle. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, she had remained contented without acquiring territory in Italy. Her solitary possession there was the Dogato, a narrow strip of sea-coast bordering on her lagunes. Even the Treviso, their earliest annexation, was lost in the unfortunate war of the Chioggia, and not regained until A.D. 1389. But upon the death of Gian Galeozzo Visconti, A.D. 1404, when his principality went to pieces, the Republic, in order to keep down an obnoxious rival in the family of Carrara, reduced Padua and Verona, and extorted a cession of Vicenza from the Milanese. From these dominions, besides a million of ducats per annum in coin, she drew nearly as much more in valuable

cloths, with almost incredible profits realised upon her manufactures and commerce. Her house rental in the capital was 500,000 ducats annually; and Sanuto allows for the whole about fourteen years' purchase, as the principal thus represented in the ordinary metropolitan residences. Her trade at this time employed 3000 merchant vessels, protected by forty-three galleys of war, and 300 smaller ships, manned by 19,000 sailors. They soon added to her continental domains Friuli, with a portion of Istria, at the top of the Adriatic, together with Brescia and Bergamo, to the river Adda in Lombardy. Yet the mass of this territorial power depended upon the Condottieri of the day. The first Sforza, among the most remarkable of these mercenaries, found a competitor for his military services in Braccio di Montone, a noble Perugian. Originally a peasant in the village of Cotignuola, the former resisted the latter, both in their own generation and their respective countries. The next age even carried on the contest. Their descendants or representatives assumed the prowess of sovereign princes. Francesco Sforza obtained from Pope Eugenius IV. the March of Ancona, as a fief of the Holy See, which materially helped forward his subsequent success at Milan, and his extensive influence in the south of Italy, A.D. 1450. His sword had been generally at the service of Venice, although he also contrived that it should never fail to carve out his own fortunes. In the Levant, at a rather later period, the Lion of St. Mark culminated. A lady, named Catherine Cornaro, the flower of one of the senatorial families, had espoused James II., sovereign of Cyprus, the natural offset of Poitiers Lusignan; Charlotte, the legitimate heiress, dying in poverty at Rome, and transferring her title to the Dukes of Savoy, who had previous claims on the crown of a matrimonial nature, and who still style themselves kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem. On the death of her consort and their only child, the Bucentaur of the Republic brought away Catharine Cornaro, recognised as queen of the island; when she, after her safe return home, formally handed it over to her countrymen, resolved as they were to acquire it, under the pretext of protecting it from the Turks. Cyprus thus came under

the standard of Venice. The Morea, Negropont, and Greek provinces, had indeed passed to the Ottomans for a season; and her commerce with India, through Egypt, was about to receive its death-blow from the adventurous energies of the Portuguese navigators. Still her revenues and political weight placed her in the foremost rank of at least Italian powers; overshadowing as she did the lesser princes in her neighbourhood, such as the dukes of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Mantua; not to mention Urbino, and some others. Her statesmen carefully watched the approaching tempest. We find them employed in occasionally estimating the relative forces which the various nations of Europe could use for offensive or defensive purposes. They conceived that after the fall of Constantinople, France might be able to raise 30,000 men-at-arms, and employ half that number on any foreign expedition. Their own army they rated at 10,000; the kings of Scotland, Norway, and the Duke of Milan, they thought might support about a similar array each of them; the crowns of Spain and England they deemed equal to France; the Duke of Savoy might maintain 8000 soldiers; the King of Portugal and the Pope each about 6000; the empire, upon a pressure, could possibly call out ten times that amount, as could also Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary together, and even more. These calculations of Sanuto are curious, and mark the more extensive views that were now taken as to the resources and dispositions of the different sections of Christendom. The survey usually terminates with a sort of fearful glance at Turkey.

Yet the master of politics, at the close of the fifteenth century, had departed to his final account. Lorenzo the Magnificent, of the famous family of the Medici, undertook the government of Florence, about the year A.D. 1469. It was a noble exception to the general rule, as well as an interesting feature of the times, that the abilities of a mercantile family should be able to found an important sovereignty, and that too in the most polished *portion* of the civilised world. The ancient Guelf aristocracy were the party of the Albizi, restored to their ascendency soon after the Popes had returned from Avignon.

They retained their power from A.D. 1382 for half a century, with slight disturbances. The Medici were amongst the most considerable of the new or plebeian nobility. Giovanni was drawn Gonfalonier in A.D. 1421, which created great sensation. It was his son Cosmo, however, who, inheriting enormous opulence from his father, combined with it both talents and ambition. His connections were extensive, especially with the Sforzas; his popularity rested upon wealth, generosity, immense patronage, and unbounded professions of attachment to the freedom of the people. Factions had always got into singular complications in Tuscany, much more so than elsewhere; constitutions presented so many congeries of inconsistencies, rather than regular and orderly forms of society. At Florence, the dominant oligarchy certainly had no basis in the popular affections, although its administration had been successful to an eminent degree. The acquisition of Pisa, with other considerable cities, had aggrandised the republic; while from the port of Leghorn her ships had begun to trade with Alexandria, and sometimes contend with the Genoese. The circulating medium was calculated at 4,000,000 of florins; the manufactures of silk and cloth of gold throve to perfection; literature experienced liberal support, and architecture flourished. Cosmo and his adherents took advantage of an unprosperous war with Lucca; and in a whirlpool of cross currents, inseparable from democracies, they contrived to drown the superiority of the Albizi. Dante had compared the political changes of his countrymen to the fretful and fruitless turns of a sick man in his bed,—surely not an inapt illustration. The foundation of their policy was a division of the citizens into companies, or mediæval guilds, each of which had a council of its own, a chief magistrate or consul for judicial purposes, and a banneret or military officer, to whose standard they repaired, whenever any attempt was made to disturb the peace of the city. Of these confraternities there were at first twelve, and afterwards twenty-one,—seven of which were called the greater, consisting of the wholesale clothiers, bankers, woollen-drapers, physicians, druggists, *silk-mercers*, and furriers; the remainder were

elder brother weathered the storm, and ultimately returned, amidst the acclamations of friends and foes, to reign over his native republic, with a simplicity of greatness superior even to that of his grandfather. His penetrating genius and profound understanding rendered him an oracle not only to Italian statesmen, but to such foreign potentates as Matthias Hunniades and Louis the Eleventh, the Grand Seignior at Stamboul, and the last Mameluke Sultans of Egypt. His vast private resources dried up, through the perpetual drains of literary patronage, an extension of political prowess, charitable or public expenses, and the ruinous demands of more guilty pleasures; in fact, the general treasury alone it was which rescued his affairs from bankruptcy as a merchant, at the cost of his wisdom as a sage and a monarch. His premature dissolution—for he was no more than forty-four years of age—has frequently been considered, as Hallam observes, among the causes of those unhappy revolutions that speedily ensued, and which it was supposed his extraordinary foresight would have been, in some degree, able to prevent, or at least to mitigate.

Yet this may well be doubted, as regards the impending invasion of Charles VIII. The best politicians after all were the Pontiffs of Rome. Pius II., in conversing with Cosmo at Florence, explained very ably the grounds upon which he deemed it proper to support Ferdinand of Naples as against France; he evidently felt that in acting thus he was adopting a line of conduct the best for Italy, and thereby involving the welfare of all Christendom. Happy would it have been for the Church of Almighty God, had there been no worse occupants of the Chair of St. Peter than the learned Eneas Sylvius. Unfortunately, at the crisis of the French expedition, Alexander VI. filled that elevated station, over whose enormities it will be only decent to cast the mantle of oblivion. Wicked Popes, of which however the number is very small, have ever been among the severest proofs that divine vengeance was awakening against nations professing the true faith, but in *reality* denying it by their works. Riches, temporal power, *with all* the appendages of secular grandeur, were corrupting the prelacy and clergy of an age emerging from the

twilight of science and literature, and nearly as conceited as our own. The revival of classical taste and knowledge had not been unaccompanied by a spirit of paganism, highly offensive, beyond a doubt, to the Will of the Holy Spirit. Humility seemed at a low ebb every where; nor without it could piety be generally diffused, notwithstanding the fervid exertions of such saintly heroes as Savonarola, or a few more like him. The German hierarchy was degenerating into a confederacy of ecclesiastical princes, almost independent, not only of each other, but of the head of the Church himself. The poison of the Paulicians had been silently creeping for generations through the arteries of Christendom; whilst visible eruptions of heresy had inflicted wounds, of which the scars still looked threatening, throughout England, Bohemia, and other regions of the continent. The sheep were as bad, or worse in some places, than their shepherds. The universal human mind was heaving with throes of an approaching revolt against the truth, and that sanctuary in which alone upon earth it is both enshrined and enthroned. Abuses were rife, and morals rare. As it pleases the Omnipotent Alchemist to turn every thing He touches into gold, so out of the evils and calamities of the time a marvellous result of ultimate advantages came to be evolved; and the genuine Reformation, achieved by the Council of Trent, compensated for those fearful disasters which accompanied, or rather ushered in, the sixteenth century. Its predecessor closed in clouds and tempests. The pretensions of the house of Anjou upon Naples had legally descended, after the death of old Regnier, appointed heir by the second Joanna, to Regnier Duke of Lorraine, his grandson, by a daughter, whose marriage, however, into that family had so displeased her father, that he bequeathed his Neapolitan title along with his real patrimony, the country of Provence, to a Count of Maine, by whose testament they became vested in the crown of France. Louis XI. took possession immediately of the substantial part of the bequest, but the shadow of a distant kingdom he left for the vain pursuit of his ambitious successor; not that he had any objection to interfere in Italian affairs *wherever* any real good was to be gained;

for he had treated Savoy as a fief of his own, and acted as regent there on the death of Philibert, its duke. The Marquis of Saluzzo too, possessing considerable territories in the south of Piedmont, had done homage to France, ever since A.D. 1353, though to the prejudice of his real superior, the Duke of Savoy. We may conclude this chapter with the observations of an eloquent writer, who has profoundly studied this important period of history: "As long," he says, "as the three great nations of Europe were unable to put forth their strength, through internal separation or foreign war, the Italians had so little to dread for their independence, that their policy was altogether directed towards regulating the domestic balance of power amongst themselves. But in relieving himself from an immediate danger, Ludovico Sforza overlooked the consideration that the presumptive heir of the king of France claimed by an ancient title that principality of Milan, which he was compassing by usurpation and murder. Yet neither Milan nor Naples was free from other claimants than France, nor was she destined to enjoy unmolested the spoils of Italy. A louder and louder strain of dissonance will be heard from the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Mediterranean. The dark and wily Ferdinand, the rash and lively Maximilian, have entered the lists; the schemes of ambition are assuming a more comprehensive aspect; and the controversy of Neapolitan succession is to expand into the long rivalry between the houses of France and Austria. It is while Italy is yet untouched, and before the bright lances of the Gaul gleam along the Alpine defiles, that the transit occurs, from the Middle Ages to the history of modern times."*

* Hallam.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 987-1520.

FRANCE—BURGUNDY—ENGLAND—THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLT AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BEFORE proceeding further with the expedition of Charles VIII. against Naples, it will be necessary to give some outlines of the history of France, from the accession of the house of Hugh Capet, towards the close of the tenth century. The founder of a new dynasty was brother of Henry duke of Burgundy, and had no sooner set aside the Carlovingians, than he displayed those distinguished talents which, with his vast wealth, qualified him for the part he had undertaken. Not that his success could restore the royal authority such as it once was, and such as it was destined to be one day again; for the feudal system, introduced under Charlemagne, had broken up the surface of France into larger or lesser peerages, which seemed so many kingdoms in miniature. He added, indeed, his own enormous fief to the crown; but a few mighty vassals occupied the remainder of the realm, six of whom obtained, at a subsequent time, the exclusive appellation of Great Peers; the two Counts of Flanders and Champagne; the three Dukes of Normandy, to whom Brittany did homage,—of Burgundy, on whom the Count of Nivernois depended,—of Aquitaine, comprehending Poitou, Limousin, with the most considerable portions of Guienne and Angoumois, besides some other central districts; and, lastly, the Count of Thoulouse, possessing Languedoc, Quercy, Rouergue, and the Auvergne. Then there were the Duke of Gascony, the Counts of Anjou, Ponthieu, and Vermandois, the Viscount of Bourges, the Lords of Bourbon and Coucy, with one or two or three more, holding immediately of the last Carlovingian princes. But the first blow which Hugh Capet aimed at this proud aristocracy was his conversion of an elective into an hereditary monarchy. He caused *his son Robert* to be crowned during his life; an

example imitated by his successors; until, in the days of Philip Augustus, the custom was dropt, as being no longer necessary. Still, the mere legal authority of Hugh Capet, even over Paris and Orleans, his own peculiar domains, was frequently more nominal than real. It was the pillar of a cloud, from which future ages beheld a majestic despotism emerge. Dreary intervals had to be endured, throughout which the Capetians could only increase their resources by territorial inheritances, stumbled upon often with little foresight, and not at all made the most of, as they might have been, when they occurred; so that instead of the old Frankish form of government coming back again, with the associations of Clovis or Charles Martel, they gradually re-united many subordinate dominions under one head, who had to reign with all the rights existing, of which the late holders, or their progenitors, had contrived to possess themselves. In other words, the sceptre of France became a royal rod of Aaron, swallowing up the less fortunate rods of the Egyptian magicians. The Abbot Suger it was, whose sagacity as minister of Louis the Fat, and some subsequent sovereigns, forwarded a fuller development of this policy. In the twelfth century, experience had taught the French nation that it was necessary to have a stronger executive power than the throne had for a long while manifested. Louis VI. rendered the royal courts of justice attractive. They offered themselves, in favourable contrast to those of mere feudal vassals, as protectors of the helpless; of freed men, or such as wished to become free; of burgesses assembled in towns, seeking only security for their persons and property, without aiming, like the nobles, at rivalship with the king. Louis VII. had married Eleanor of Guienne; but conscientiously restored her hereditary estates, when he repudiated her for gross adultery. Our Henry II. proved less scrupulous; yet while his disgraceful nuptials with the divorced princess undoubtedly aggrandised the Plantagenets, it threw the French nobles into the scale of *his competitor*, less potent than himself, and therefore less *exciting* their jealousy. The French and English were *thenceforward* the national and anti-national parties. The

Crusades also helped to reconstruct regal influence every where. Cities and municipalities sheltered themselves beneath the shadow of monarchy, from the insolent or oppressive exactions of aristocracies. Philip Augustus amazingly augmented the potency and energies of the crown. The splendid fief of Normandy was declared a forfeiture A.D. 1204, and wrested for ever from John, the cruel and pusillanimous brother of the lion-hearted Richard. St. Louis acquired the provinces of Thoulouse, with the counties of Macon, Blois, and Chartres. His saintliness, even in the political career of the present world, was, in the long run, far more advantageous to his family than the artifices of his most astute predecessors. The scales of equity in such holy hands were felt to be as unpolluted as the balances of the sanctuary; nor did any one peep or mutter, when as lord paramount, upon feudal principles, his judges ventured to take cognisance of all complaints that had, or might have, any relation to feudal services. Philip Augustus, his grandfather, had also gained, through marriage and escheat, Artois, Maine, Anjou, and Vermandois; Louis the Lion obtained, directly and indirectly, Poitou, Languedoc, Tourraine, and Bourbonnois; Philip III., St. Onge and the Auvergne, A.D. 1270-85; Philip le Bel, Champagne, Guienne, Angouleme, La Marche, and the Lyonnois, chiefly through his marriage with the heiress of Champagne and Navarre, and the intrigues which he was able to bring to a prosperous issue with the Popes at Avignon. At the commencement of the fourteenth century, after the line of Valois had ascended the throne, Charles VI. acquired Dauphiné, by bequest, A.D. 1349; and which afforded a title of no slight historical interest for the heirs to the crown. Philip the Fair had ordained that royal appanages should not be inheritable by females; through which the consolidation of the realm as an undivided country was greatly promoted. He moreover originated the Parliaments as councils of supreme judicature, representing the sovereign himself; and thenceforward their decisions served to fill up the deficiencies of obsolete and defective laws. He also went far beyond any of his predecessors, in their *felonious practices* of debasing the coin; instituting

the gabelle, or tax upon salt; and fleecing the Church by all kinds of unpopular exactions, the blame of which some of his successors were base enough to cast upon the hampered Pontiffs, whom their worldly policy retained on the banks of the Rhone, instead of replanting them on those of the Tiber. He summoned, however, the States-General, for the purpose of voting the extraordinary sacrifices required by the public misfortunes; and in order to attach the citizens and burgher classes to his interests, he admitted the principle that their deputies should always claim a place at future meetings; and favoured their exemption from forced loans and military services. Their contributions inevitably gave them influence: nor could the door fail to be opened in so popular an assembly for calling wicked ministers to account, or inflicting punishment upon them. The kings of France therefore came to be very cautious in the handling of such double-edged weapons; yet meanwhile the more prosperous provincial capitals expanded in wealth and weight; they even ventured on the fortification of their suburbs, upon their own account; and symptoms already appeared of those irreligious tendencies, which preferred the despotism of a secular master to the ecclesiastical welfare of the King of kings. He died in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh of his age, A.D. 1314. His three sons ruled in their turns: Louis X., Philip the Tall, and Charles IV., styled the Handsome, A.D. 1314-28.

The celebrated Salic Law having been solemnly sanctioned by the states of the kingdom A.D. 1317, Philip de Valois, the next male heir to Charles IV., whose queen had no other issue than two daughters, one of them posthumous, assumed the crown A.D. 1328. In his time commenced that fearful and protracted contest with England, which lasted for a full century, and entirely arrested the progress of civil order and constitutional legislation. The unfortunate foundation of the House of Burgundy had its origin somewhat later than the second of those two great victories, which prostrated for the time the vigour of the French monarchy, namely, Crecy in A.D. 1346, resulting in the fall of Calais; and Poitiers, A.D. 1356, re-

nected with the glory of the Black Prince, as well as the calamities of his royal captive King John. The younger and favourite son of the latter, Philip, a gallant youth of only fourteen, who received a wound during the engagement in defending his father, was taken prisoner with him on the field. After the peace of Bretigni, the last of the former Burgundian family died; and King John, who was his heir, granted it in the way of appanage to Philip. This prince, by his marriage with Margaret, heiress to the Count of Flanders, acquired that province, together with Artois, Franche Comté, and the Nivernois. His namesake and grandson, entitled the Good, acquired all the other Netherlands, which at that period abounded with a native industry and population based upon freedom and commerce. The dukedom of Burgundy thus grew into an equipoise to the French crown itself. Its court presented a brilliancy and elegance excelled by none in the west of Europe. The rank of its sovereign stood next to the royal dignity. An able administration of nearly fifty years, A.D. 1419-66, had enriched the nobility as well as the commonalty: on the accession of Charles the Bold, the Order of the Golden Fleece might vie with the chivalry of Spain or England; while such had been the wealth of his father, that the palace plate exceeded 2,000,000 of livres in value. The disastrous struggle between the families of Valois and Plantagenet seemed frequently inflamed or assuaged, just as the caprice or policy of so potent a vassal thought it proper to intrigue with either party. The question of justice appeared little thought of. On the decease of Charles IV., Edward III. of England had advanced his preposterous claims. These rested upon the imagined right of his mother Isabella, the sister of the last three Capetian kings. Apart from the existence and confirmation of the Salic law, there were no less than five princesses with pretensions superior to his own; aware of which fact, Edward set up a distinction, that although females were excluded from actual succession, the same rule did not apply to their male issue. Had this even been so, there was Jane, the daughter of Louis X., whose son, the future King of Navarre, *would be one* degree closer to the crown of France

than the representative of the Plantagenets. In vain Pope Benedict XII. adjured the English monarch to beware of a rash attempt, which might afflict the world, but which could produce no permanent advantages for his own dynasty. Ambition, however, has no ears; nor can it be denied but that throughout England the French war was always popular. The nation had developed various elements of prosperity since the termination of the thirteenth century. The Scotch and Welch contests had gratified the conquerors not a little; nor was the idea even an unpleasant one of retaliating the Norman invasion. Warfare, with its exciting accompaniments, found favour at almost all times in the hearts of our native gentry and active yeomanry. Their nerves and sinews felt hale and strong; their education, diet, habits, and particularly their field sports, appeared to qualify them for robust contention; their very prejudices were so warm and deep that they almost assumed the more respectable form of principles. The weakness of Edward's father, the guiltiness of his mother, and the follies of regal favourites, were forgotten in the glories of his grandfather, since whose vigorous administration substantial opulence had been brought into numerous markets, through the sale of English wool to the Flemings. The new monarch had also exhibited no ordinary spirit and prudence in rescuing Isabella from her life of infamy, in consigning her vile paramour Mortimer to the hands of the common hangman, and assuming the reins of government A.D. 1330. His personal character, however morally defective, presented many features of knightly courtesy, courage, and magnificence, which pass for virtues with the vulgar, and are not in themselves without inherent importance, so far as they rouse patriotism in the people. His victory moreover at Halidoun, A.D. 1333, over the Scots, effectually effaced the painful memory of Bannockburn nineteen years before; and all domestic dangers had disappeared prior to the great naval triumph of the English over the French fleet, 24th June, A.D. 1340.

Some interval had been suffered to elapse on both sides, ere an appeal to arms could openly be resolved upon. Ed-

ward had even performed feudal homage to his competitor for the possessions he held in Guienne, a circumstance which seemed at once to surrender the object in dispute, and recognise the legal title of Philip VI. Meanwhile, Robert Count of Artois, a prince of the blood-royal, had taken umbrage at some of the proceedings of his relative, and excited the fires that were glowing in the bosom of the Plantagenet. The sovereign of France had foolishly interfered on behalf of Scotland. The commercial democracy of Flanders had courted protection from the king of England, informing him at the same time, as Artaveld the Brewer did, that before his countrymen, who were vassals of France, could espouse his cause, he must challenge their assistance by asserting his own rights, and denouncing Philip as an usurper. This was unhappily done in due order. Mighty armies began to assemble. Disputes between Charles of Blois and the Count De Montford with respect to the Duchy of Bretagne, the former being nephew to Philip, and the latter in the interest of Edward, accelerated the collision. Truces were set aside through parliamentary supplies; until, A.D. 1346, Edward invaded Normandy with 30,000 men. The passage of the Somme and the battle of Crecy followed on the 26th of August, where the archery of England gathered their laurels for the middle classes, which neither a few blundering discharges of clumsy artillery, nor the swords of the heraldic gentry of our counties could have won, where their adversaries tripled them in numbers. Calais was captured the next year; an armistice succeeded, and in A.D. 1350 Philip De Valois expired. John now ascended the throne; a monarch distinguished by many virtues, but more misfortunes. The flames of contention broke out afresh. Within ten years from the siege of Calais, Edward the Black Prince surpassed the renown of his father, and gained such a victory at Poictiers that his good fortune could only be enhanced by his modesty. Then, amidst the thoughtless jubilations of England, that her warriors, but 12,000 strong, had beaten battalions nearly five times that amount in physical or rather personal forces, was the chalice of woe full to *overflowing for* France. Her government was pros-

trate,—her king a captive,—her nobility massacred,—her demagogues rampant. Famine ravaged her fairest fields and her most magnificent cities. Pestilence fell alike on friend and foe,—the conquerors and the vanquished. That dreadful plague of the fourteenth century, denominated the Black Death, had already desolated a large portion of the earth; making its earliest appearance in the north of Asia, encircling that vast continent, crossing over into Africa, and finally sweeping Europe from one end to the other. Some have declared that a third of the inhabitants of the three continents must have perished. It has been ascertained that London alone lost fifty thousand lives from its awful presence. During the pacification consequent on the triumph at Poictiers, the Free Companies, having no occupation either from John or Edward, spread themselves from Artois to the Alps. Traffic and honest labour were for a long period altogether suspended. Pillage devoured the land in every direction. The robbers even refused to spare Avignon in their furious career; nor could the Pope redeem himself at a less ransom than 40,000 crowns. Some at length betook themselves to Italy; and Du Guesclin, the flower of knighthood in that age, conducted immense parties of them across the Pyrenees. The bonds of society thus dissolving, the peasantry of entire districts displaced their masters, and turned order upside down, in an insurrection which has given a name to all others,—the Jacquerie. Communism and socialism revelled in their hell upon earth; and the Dauphin Charles it was, who, under Almighty God, preserved the whole realm from floundering in hopeless and irretrievable destruction. The extremity of the peril may be said to have assisted him, since to his standard whatever remained in the country of conservative principle naturally gravitated. He possessed a genius which has seldom been found to exist in his family: at once inventive in wise measures, unshaken by the most appalling aspect of adversity, and with sufficient calmness to contemplate occurrences in their true colours, and not as *they* appear to ordinary persons carried away by the *impulses* of the moment,—he resolutely uprooted many real *and* undeniable abuses, and thus took the wind out of the

sails of the more infuriated reformers. His mind also possessed a fountain of cheerfulness within itself, from which others also drew an antidote against the suggestions of rashness or despair. With untiring economy he restored the finances, and thus merited the appellation of Charles the Wise. At Bretigni was concluded what some statesmen called the Great Peace, A.D. 1360, upon terms which assigned to Edward all Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, Saint-Onge, the Limousin, the Angoumois, Calais, and the country of Ponthieu, in full sovereignty, as an ample recompense for his renunciation of title to the crown of France, besides the payment of three million of gold pieces for the emancipation of his royal prisoner. King John, as is well known, meeting with many difficulties in effecting his obligations, most honourably returned to his old quarters in the Savoy, where he soon after died in April A.D. 1364. Charles, his sagacious son and successor, assisted by the chivalrous Du Guesclin, performed wonders for the resuscitation of the exhausted state. Both the Edwards were now declining, one from age and the other from disease. The Black Prince, it was felt, had failed in a most injudicious enterprise he had undertaken into Castile on behalf of Pedro the Cruel; for although victory attended his arms, its results were very shortly dissipated by the well-merited discomfiture and fate of the wretch his mistaken policy had patronised. Aquitaine thus got involved in debt, to liquidate which required taxes. The French subjects of an English suzerain naturally enough looked to their ancient lord paramount; the latter not at all unwilling to sympathise, and even re-assert his not forgotten rights. Thus hostilities were renewed, for Charles had summoned the younger Edward feudally to answer certain charges brought against him before the peers of France. In A.D. 1368 hostilities recommenced. Within a few campaigns, nothing remained to the Plantagenets but Bayonne, Bordeaux, Calais, and inexpressible mortification.

Charles VI. succeeded his father A.D. 1380, as a minor only thirteen years old, under the ambitious and rapacious guardianship of three uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy. The renowned Prince of Wales had fallen

a sacrifice to his disorder four years before; an event followed by the demise of Edward III., 21st June, A.D. 1377. Richard II., his grandson, was also under age; so that the thrones of both England and France were now tenanted by children. The Paladins were gone, as it appeared, from both nations; and robbers alone remained. Charles bore the name of sovereign for forty years, without fulfilling any of its duties; his nominal reign being little else than a turbulent regency, leading to the subsequent conflict of his unfortunate country with Henry the conqueror of Agincourt. Frequently insane, an accident, through which his costume had taken fire at a masquerade, augmented his mental malady. All the reforms of his father were suffered to pass away amidst the gross corruptions of his ministers, the absurd pageantries of the court, and the miseries of the people, heightened and inflamed by the factious passions of three proud noblemen. Anjou was dead; but the Duke of Orleans had occupied his place in the drama of national confusion. The expenses of the royal household were quintupled; the middle and lower classes groaned; exorcised enormities returned upon the kingdom, so lately in some degrees improved, like the seven unclean spirits of the parable, as to a house swept and garnished. Another Duke of Burgundy had also succeeded, A.D. 1404, whose title was John, the treacherous assassin of his competitor Orleans, A.D. 1407. Crime naturally produces crime; and so the Orleanists, under the denomination of Armagnacs, retaliated upon their antagonists, with the assistance of the Dauphin and other magnates of the royal blood.

A revolution meanwhile amongst their insular neighbours had dethroned the misguided representative of the Black Prince, and substituted the Duke of Lancaster as Henry IV. A.D. 1400. Whether Richard received his death-blow from the battle-axe of Exton or not may be disputed; but the usurper lived, reigned, and was followed by his son, Henry V., A.D. 1413. This warlike monarch remembered the injunctions of his father, never to let such [illegible]ic and able subjects as the English remain too long [illegible]lest the frowardness of their prosperity might tempt

them to handle somewhat irreverently the ark of the constitution, or his dubious claims upon their allegiance. In France, the civil contest between the Burgundians and Armagnacs had somewhat subsided through the treaties of Arras and Auxerre, A.D. 1412-14. The Dauphin and one of his brothers now died within sixteen months of each other: so that this high rank devolved on the youngest son of the insane king, afterwards so distinguished as Charles VII. Our own Henry IV., not long prior to his decease, had superseded some commercial and matrimonial negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy, for the sake of an alliance with the Armagnacs, comprehending four members of the House of Valois, the Dukes of Berry, Bourbon, Orleans, and Alençon, who undertook to assist him at their own charges in the recovery of Guienne and Ponton, if he would only lend them four thousand archers. His son oscillated a good deal; but ultimately, in A.D. 1415, he invaded Normandy, took Harfleur, and won the battle of Agincourt on his march to Calais. The recollections of Cressy and Poictiers could alone have sustained the English on that memorable occasion, so tremendous were the odds against them. They drew up on a narrow ground, between woods which guarded either flank. It was in October, after much rain had fallen, and softened the clayey soil: so that when the French cavalry rushed forward, their horses stuck fast in the mire; a convenient mark to the British bowmen, who, with fixed palisades in their front, poured from behind these an arrowy shower which nothing could retard or resist. It was a fatal day for the nobility and gentry of France. The Orleanists suffered most; the Burgundians scarcely at all: a secret treaty having previously secured their neutrality, and the subsequent victory their alliance. Their duke, however, seems to have been bought over by the court party, A.D. 1419, to his own destruction, as it soon appeared; for the murder of the Duke of Orleans, twelve years before, was now avenged upon himself, to the surprise of the whole world, at Montereau, on the 10th of the ensuing September. The treaty of Troyes, A.D. 1420, then seemed to secure to the triumphant victor a realisation of his most *flattering* dreams. Henry was acknow-

ledged regent of the whole realm; the Princess Catharine was to be his bride; and after the demise of Charles his immediate succession was to follow, not only to the exclusion of the Dauphin, but all the royal family. For two years he governed the north of France in the name of his father-in-law Charles: his consort bore him a male-heir, destined in the minds of vain courtiers to fill the thrones of both France and England as one united power; when death dissolved the vision, by removing first Henry V., and then Charles VI., in the months of August and October, A.D. 1422. The infant Henry VI. was proclaimed at Paris, under the guardianship of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, and Charles VII., at Poictiers,—the central provinces, with Languedoc, Poitou, and Dauphiné remaining loyal to his cause. The war went on, season after season, without any decisive consequences; or at least so long as Burgundy continued to sway the balance in favour of the Plantagenets.

Philip the Good was the new vassal of that colossal fief, on the assassination of John, his father, at Montereau. Yet all important as his position could not but prove to the combatants for the most enviable crown in Europe, it was reserved to an obscure female to re-establish the lawful sovereigns of France. In A.D. 1429, the grand focus of the conflict had become concentrated at Orleans, so situated as it was between the territories of Henry and Charles, that its possession offered an easy entrance to either. The talents of Bedford, Warwick, Salisbury, and Talbot, had illustrated the banners of St. George, then waving before the trenches of the town, to achieve their ultimate triumph by its fall. So vigorously was the siege pressed by the English, and so fruitlessly had the citizens exerted themselves to the utmost, that Charles VII. had given up the place for lost. His queen, Mary of Anjou, and his mistress, Agnes Sorel, are said to have awakened him from utter despair by their incessant remonstrances. Shaking off at last his disgraceful lethargy, he resolved upon a *glorious* death rather than submitting to an ignominious *surrender*. It was exactly at this juncture that unexpected *relief* arrived. Near the small village of Greaux, in Cham-

pagne, a hamlet called Domremy contained the small farm on which Joan of Arc was born, about A.D. 1412. She had been brought up religiously, as a chaste, prudent, mild, modest, and industrious maiden. Devoted to prayer and charity, she had withdrawn from the amusements of her sex, passing most of her time in the parish church, bending before the cross, with clasped hands, and her eyes fixed in tender yet respectful contemplation of her divine Saviour and His Blessed Mother. There appeared nothing in her character that was not perfectly natural and unaffected; for she went with her father and brothers to their homeliest employments, pastured the cattle or sheep in their fields,—when such was the gentleness of her disposition, that the birds would come at her call, and eat bread out of her hands; or if she stayed in the cottage, she spun the hemp and wool for the use of their rural household. Not far from her home stood a majestic beech-tree, of great antiquity and highly venerated. It seems to have been dedicated formerly to fairies, but latterly to our Lady; for in the month of May, Joan, in her childhood, had suspended on it her floral garlands, and would often carry thither her favourite image of the Holy Virgin. A fountain of clear water bubbled up beneath its shade, connected with various relations of salubrious, if not miraculous qualities. The politics of her district began early to interest her mind; the inhabitants of her hamlet, with a single exception, were for Charles, and her own heart beat high amongst them. At thirteen years of age she mentions her first visits from St. Catharine and St. Margaret, as having happened together with those from St. Michael, at or near the fountain under the fairy tree, although she did not then understand what they said. The archangel, she declared, had ordered her, so soon as she comprehended him, to be a good girl; adding that God would assist her, for she must go to the succour of the King of France. At times she would seem to have been in a kind of mesmeric ecstacy; and the entire account given of her by Charmettes may impress an observant reader with the idea that her case was one of enthusiasm, excitement, and genuine patriotism, combined, overruled, and directed by Providence towards a

particular object. In an era of civil war and contention, it was not improbable or unbecoming that she and other females of her own rank in life should be expert in many military exercises, such as mounting a horse, using a lance, and facing all sorts of danger. At length a conviction became rooted in her soul, that she was to rescue the kingdom from its deplorable condition. There was an old prophecy then current, that France would be delivered by a virgin from the borders of Lorraine. After various futile attempts to gain attention, some of the authorities in her neighbourhood agreed that she should be sent to court, and she reached Chinon in February, A.D. 1429. Her age at this period was about eighteen. In stature she had attained a middle size, and looked well in armour. Her limbs were strong and of beautiful proportions; her black hair flowed down round a lovely neck, but not lower than her shoulders; her countenance was pleasing; and she had a sweet voice, with an insinuating expression. She rode and carried a lance with as much grace and address as the best knight or esquire; nor did her conversation fail in ease, fluency, or discretion. When addressed by the prelates of Charles, she answered that she must speak to their sovereign herself. She came from the King of Heaven, she averred, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct the rightful heir of France to Rheims, that he might be crowned there with the customary solemnities. The result is well known, and must always be considered among the most curious phenomena of history.

Introduced to the royal personages of the court, and having abundantly satisfied Charles, the offer of her services was accepted: she described the suit of mail which she wished to wear, buried as it then was in the earth behind an altar of St. Catharine; whilst, with regard to the standard that was to be carried before her, several divine voices, as she affirmed, directed that on a white ground strewn with fleur-de-lis should be figured the Saviour of mankind, seated on His tribunal in the clouds, holding the world in His hands, and with two angels kneeling in adoration before Him. Charles retrieved his affairs; Joan of Arc fulfilled her pretensions to the minutest particular;

ity of Orleans was relieved by herself in person, and roung sovereign conducted to Rheims for his corona-

She now affirmed that her mission had reached its ination; and well would it have been could she but been allowed to return home in peace, or withdrawn me retirement, where religion might have sheltered rom observation. She was ennobled indeed, and per-ed many extraordinary exploits; but Dunois, the Bas- of Orleans, would never let her go; until, after being ided, and having gained her final victory at Lagny in , A.D. 1430, she was intercepted and captured by her bitter enemies. Few persons, we suppose, can now emplate the accounts of her examinations, imprison-t, trial, and execution, without the deepest feelings of gnancy. The Duke of Bedford had her brought to en, where the donjon of the great tower received her, charge of witchcraft. Her feet and legs were fettered strong chain, which traversed the end of her bed, and fastened to a large piece of wood five feet long. her chain was passed round the middle of her thin spare body, so that she could not move from her e. Five brutal keepers of the male sex watched her and night, three inside and two outside her chamber, h was intended to have been a cage of iron. On the of May, A.D. 1431, she was barbarously burnt alive ie open market-place, guarded by 800 soldiers, armed axes, swords, and lances. Her innocent tears and ntations melted the spectators. As they bound her to stake, she asked for a cross, which an Englishman ediately made for her out of the end of a stick. She it gratefully, kissed it with devotion, and then hid it ly away in her bosom. "O Jesus!" she cried with ud voice, as the faggots were lit, and she felt the es. Her friendly friar, who had all along attended being, as she thought, in danger from the fire and , was gently requested by her to keep aloof from in-enience or danger, but to hold up the crucifix before until she was dead. Even the executioner bestirred pile in pity, that its operation might shorten her suf-gs; but as the smoke and agony distressed her, she

called for holy water, implored the divine assistance, invoking the blessed saints, now and then shrieking or groaning, yet always praying. At length her poor head was seen to fall on one side, and the name of our Saviour, pronounced in a loud voice, was the last word she uttered. "So perished," says a modern historian, "after the incarceration of a year, and by this inhuman death, the heroic Maid of Orleans. No deliverer of a country has ever appeared who has merited a more liberal fame, or achieved the great enterprise amid difficulties more arduous, or with purer disinterestedness." France herself has thought so, and with reason. The genius of Joan seems to have electrified every province. Bedford died in A.D. 1435; and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, about the same period seceded from his English alliance. Paris, as well as most of the other cities, then hastened to throw off an odious yoke; Normandy and Guienne, with the entire inheritance of Henry II. and Eleanor,—all the conquests of the Edwards and Henry V. were irrecoverably wrested from the grasp of England, with the exception of Calais and its adjacent districts, or the idle trophies of heraldry.

The fifteenth century, which had opened with so much promise for England, developed little else than the most melancholy reverses, from the death of the hero of Agincourt to the reign of the first Tudor; it seemed as though France were avenging upon her rival the various miseries she had herself suffered. The House of Lancaster had been founded by Henry of Bolingbroke, grandson of Edward III., by his third son John of Gaunt. In order to evade the superior right of Mortimer, Earl of March, he attempted to deduce a title through his mother, descended from Edmund, pretended by certain partisans to have been an elder child of Henry III., but who was unjustly postponed to Edward I., though with his own consent, on the ground of personal deformity. The origin of these claims of the line of Lancaster is now known to have been baseless. In the third generation, under Henry VI., a feeble but pious prince, with a heroine for his queen in Margaret of Anjou, Edward IV., son of Richard, duke of York, set aside his sovereign, and ascended his throne by

force of arms. The House of York, however, traced its derivation to Lionel, the second son of Edward III., so that it legally stood in succession before that of Lancaster, allowing for that female link which connected it with the earls of March, through Anne, countess of Cambridge:—hence arose the civil wars of the White and Red Roses, the two emblems of the respective dynasties. Throughout a dreary interval of storm and contention, the famous Earl of Warwick possessed and exercised the power of putting down one king and setting up another. The battles of St. Albans, Bloreheath, Wakefield, and Mortimer's Cross, express the fluctuations of fortune which terminated in the deposition of Henry VI., A.D. 1461: whilst those of Towton, Hedgely Moor, Hexham, Edgecote, Erpingham, Barnet, and Tewkesbury, denote the shifting scenes of a tragedy involving the final ruin of the Lancastrians, as also the murder of their saintly sovereign. The two sons of Edward IV. slumbered the sweet sleep of paradise in the Tower of London, A.D. 1483, under the suffocating pillows of their perjured uncle, Richard III. Against the latter, and to assert the just judgment of Almighty God, rose up Henry, earl of Richmond, descended on the side of his father from the French princess, Catharine, daughter of Charles VI., and widow of Henry V.; she had entered upon second nuptials with Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, who thus became progenitor of a new royal family in England. On the side of his mother, who was descended from an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, he deemed himself the representative of the Lancastrians; and after his victory over the detested Richard, on the field of Bosworth, A.D. 1485, he united to his own claims, such as they were, those of the Yorkists, by marrying their sole surviving princess, Elizabeth; although he never had the magnanimity to acknowledge his obligations to that admirable lady. The offspring of this ill-omened union was Henry VIII., who succeeded to the crown, A.D. 1500. The first Tudor sovereign had to fulfil a task in England analogous in several respects to that which had fallen to the lot of Charles VII. in France. The greater *part of the nobility* had fallen in the civil wars, so

that not more than twenty-nine peers attended parliament. The ordinary annual revenues of the exchequer had dwindled to the paltry sum of 5000*l.* sterling; such magnates as had escaped the perils of their times had to be gradually deprived of their liveries, or armed bands of followers, which overawed the more quiet citizens, and interfered with the reviving vigour of law and order; whilst although little remained of freedom beyond certain constitutional forms, yet these were so important, that subsequently they helped to produce most marked differences between the national government and characteristics of the French and English: the former manifested all sorts of tendencies towards centralisation and the monarchical principle; the latter towards a collective or parliamentary regime. It was some long interval, indeed, which had to elapse before liberty could be understood or enjoyed; nor is it to be inferred that any thing beyond the mere seeds of a future harvest could be discerned, in the trial by jury, the suffrage attached to the possession of a forty-shilling freehold, or the remains of Magna Charta, which were still clung to with a reverence more superstitious than perhaps enlightened.

Externally and superficially the social prospects of France at this time appeared brighter than those of England. Charles VII., when his crown had once been secured, set his shoulder to the wheel of policy, and worked wonders; the proud and restless spirit of Bretagne was subdued; the dukes of Lorraine attached themselves to his cause; opportunities were seized for establishing the germs of a standing army, supported by fixed and legal impositions; the administration of justice was purified from numerous abuses; the finances revived, as they always do in any continued calm; and the whole machinery of society began once more to prosper. Just as Edward IV. in England was rending the sceptre of his family from Henry VI., Louis XI. ascended the throne of France on the death of his father, A.D. 1461. There had seldom been *much* domestic peace between them, and as Dauphin the *new* monarch had resided a good deal at the Burgundian *court.* His mind and talents were of no common order;

laborious in attending to business, vigilant in improving all favourable opportunities for the advancement of his own interests, insatiable of territory and power, affable to inferiors, and accurately estimating in a moment the abilities of those with whom he had the slightest intercourse,—he became able to effect by craft and industry what others could have only done by force or violence. His will was like a whirlpool, attracting within the circles of its influence whatever might approach too near, and then absorbing all in one centre of selfishness. He trusted very few persons beyond a certain point, observing with truth, that his council was in his own head. The secret system of his government gradually undermined the exorbitant privileges of the nobility; for he had resolved, that at least his successors should be masters within the limits of their royal realms; but he wisely allowed it to appear as though he followed the course of events, when in reality he generally guided them. It has been justly noticed that he resembled Augustus in the simplicity of his manner of life, the depth of his dissimulation, and his readiness to perpetrate any crime conducive to his private aggrandisement. Greater in the cabinet than the field, he could not always prevent his natural timidity and suspicion from producing an overwise caution, so that every now and then some darling scheme stumbled upon the precise snare which had been too cunningly prepared for its opponents. It was amongst his favourite occupations to tamper with parliaments, allowing them to exercise just that share of influence which pleased the people with a semblance of authority, whilst they screened the growth of royal absolutism from inconvenient observation. Even the universities were permitted to assume a shadow of political importance, with the same views and upon similar terms; they, as well as provincial parliaments, being more tractable tools towards the construction of despotism than assemblies of nobles or clamorous States-General. Rendering himself daily more and more important, he augmented the domains of the crown both in extent and value; economy and prudence made him rich as well as powerful; his revenues *reached* the amount of 4,700,000 livres per

annum, an enormous sum for that age, and equivalent to 3,000,000*l.* sterling at the present time. He greatly enlarged the Companies of Ordonnance through additions of Scotch and Swiss mercenaries, introducing a better organisation, and constituting them a permanent and effective body of infantry, ready at the royal command for executing any sudden enterprise. His nearest competitor for renown and prowess was Charles the Bold, his old playfellow, who, on the death of Philip the Good, A.D. 1467, inherited the treasures and ducal dominions of Burgundy and the Netherlands. Matter, nevertheless, can be no match for mind; Louis artfully availed himself of his superior tact, and the concentrated character of France, as against the reckless courage of his rival, which degenerated into rashness, and the unsettled, irritable, and sensitive populations of the Flemish cities, requiring the management of gentle policy, for which their bluff sovereign possessed no skill, and felt less disposition. The duke was quite as ambitious, as might have been expected; but his objects were to exchange his coronet for a crown, to display the pomp and opulence of his court and country, to conduct military expeditions, to act independently of every kind of control, and eclipse by the external splendour of his administration the less ostentatious yet wiser government of Louis. After several years of uninterrupted success in his enterprises, Charles the Bold experienced his first failure before the little town of Nuz, near Cologne. He then fell upon Switzerland, and was defeated at Granson, in the Pays de Vaud, with more disgrace than slaughter; but again at Morat with prodigious loss, A.D. 1476. Desperation now destroyed the dregs of a capacity that had never been great; and setting his life upon another cast at Nancy, he received his final overthrow from the Duke of Lorraine, and perished in the engagement, A.D. 1477. His only daughter, Mary, had married Maximilian, to whom, as there existed no male heirs, she brought Franche Comté and the Netherlands; but France seized upon and retained the duchy of Burgundy as a *male fief*, never again to be separated from the kingdom.

Louis XI. sickened and died, A.D. 1483, at Plessis,

one of his palaces, in the neighbourhood of Tours, worn out by secular anxieties and mental torments. His son, Charles VIII., through his nuptials with the heiress of Bretagne, united that noble peerage to his hereditary dominions: the whole forming a compact and consolidated empire, embraced by the Pyrenees, the Bay of Biscay, the English Channel, Artois, Luxembourg, Lorraine, Upper Burgundy, Savoy, the Lower Alps, and the Gulf of Lyons. Potent both at home and abroad, he listened, as we have seen, with greedy ears to the suggestions of the usurper at Milan, that he should attack Naples. Nothing seemed capable of resisting the impetuosity of the French. Ferdinand, the late enemy of Sforza, had expired of positive terror as the invasion approached. His son, Alphonso II., withdrew from the confusion into the retirement of monastic life. Within a few days after the accession of another Ferdinand, Charles completed his conquest. He had overrun all Italy with 26,000 men; but the Pope, with the great republics, had now learned their lesson from painful experience. It was clearly and quickly perceived that although no single state amongst them could be a match for such an enemy, yet a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members durst not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourse. A league was formed, as mentioned in the last chapter, between the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, who had just succeeded his father Frederick III., the Venetians, the Milanese, and the Spanish monarchy. Charles VIII. lost his spoils as rapidly as he had acquired them. There remained no other alternative for him but to return back again to France without loss of time. On the banks of the Tanaro, in the valley of Fornova, the allies lay in wait to inflict upon the aggressor their retributive vengeance. They were thrice as numerous as his own wearied and weakened forces; yet the Swiss cut their way through, so that the king is said to have lost only 200 lives against 3000 of his adversaries. He died without issue, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, 7th April, A.D. 1498, and was succeeded by the Duke of Orleans, under the title of Louis XII. The *political fever of* gaining or maintaining influence

in Italy fell upon him also. His claim to Naples was identical with that of Charles; but he demanded the Duchy of Milan through his grandmother Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Having first espoused the queen-dowager by papal dispensation, he crossed the Alps, and entered Milan in triumph, A.D. 1500. Ludovico Sforza, the Moor, ultimately met the due reward of his crimes in perpetual imprisonment; but the conqueror, intent upon repairing the losses of his predecessor in the south of Italy, entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Spain for that specific purpose. The last Ferdinand of Naples, who fled to Ischia from the arms of Charles, had died, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederick. Louis and his Spanish ally deposed him; made a partition of his dominion between themselves; allowed him to withdraw to France, where he became Duke of Anjou, with a splendid pension, and then quarrelled about the division of their plunder. Gonsalvo de Cordova, called the Great Captain, soon settled matters on behalf of his Castilian master, by simply stripping the French once more of all their Neapolitan possessions, A.D. 1503; which from that time forward remained united with Sicily, under the grandsire of the Emperor Charles V. and a long line of his posterity. Alexander VI. expired in the same year, the tiara passing in conclave to Julius II. This pontiff signalised his reign by restoring the temporal dominions of the Holy See, as also by the steps he took with respect to the League of Cambray, from which era the overweening prowess of Venice began perceptibly to decline. His main object and just policy was to expel all foreign tyranny from the Italian Peninsula. Louis had joined the combination as against the wealthy Queen of the Adriatic; but his astonishment vented itself in vain indignation when the deeper views of Julius came to be carried out. The Pope, the Swiss, and the Venetians, drove him back into his own country; the son of the infamous Ludovico Sforza was installed as the Duke of Milan; and even Genoa recovered her independence, A.D. 1512. The energetic pontiff, however, was removed by death in an advanced age, but at the very crisis of his genius. His successor was

the celebrated Leo X., son of the Medicean Lorenzo the Magnificent. Louis XII. terminated his reign somewhat later, A.D. 1515; whose crown descended, as he left no children, upon Francis I. He once more reversed the fortunes of the Sforzas, and regained the ground of his predecessor; so that while the Spaniards ruled permanently at Naples, the French also for an interval domineered at Milan. Yet events of infinitely wider importance were now opening on the world.

It cannot but have struck any attentive reader, that Christendom seemed ripe for condign chastisements at the hands of Almighty God. National corruptions cried aloud for an effusion of the vials of celestial wrath against the avarice, pride, prodigality, heathenism, cruelty, and profligacy, which almost every where prevailed. The spiritual combustibles had been in fact for ages and generations accumulating, to which Luther and his coadjutors merely applied the matches. Not that the guilt of their incendiarism and rebellion is to be palliated upon this account. The Church had the grand principles of revirescence for her lukewarm and sinful members upon her own holy altars, and in her own genuine identity, which of course can never change, being derived from the Father of Lights, with whom there is neither variableness nor shadow of alteration. But her children had no longer any fervent affection for her fold: they had forgotten her instructions, despised her precepts, rejected her influence, and already apostatised in heart and spirit from the symbols of her faith. It is not for the secular historian to decide who might be most to blame, whether the laity or the clergy; but both had declined awfully when the thunderclap came. The affair of Indulgences happened to offer a convenient handle for the great ecclesiastical revolt, which in a few years rapidly extended through various portions of Europe. No good Catholic requires an explanation of these invaluable favours and privileges; of which an exceptional abuse can afford no argument against their judicious and authorised use. After the Crusades, there were two undoubted evils which arose, not from the Indulgences *as such, but* from an occasional diversion of

the money raised from its original destination; and from the office of distributing them being committed, under peculiar circumstances, to very inferior and improper agents. Thus, for instance, about six years before the controversy at Wittemburg, an indulgence had been preached in Saxony to raise supplies for the war against the Turks; but the entire sum got intercepted, and was privately divided between the emperor and that same elector who afterwards patronised Luther! Amongst the dazzling projects of Julius II. had been one for re-erecting the grand basilica of St. Peter at Rome, upon a scale of magnitude and magnificence suitable to the metropolis of the Christian world. For this purpose he had published indulgences in France and Poland, which his successor, Leo, enlarged with the same views, so as to comprehend the northern provinces of Germany. The papal commission was delegated to the Archbishops of Mentz and Magdeburg, the latter of whom employed as his representative Tetzel, a Dominican friar. He and his assistants must have proceeded with no inconsiderable carelessness and temerity, if we may judge from the declamations of their accusers, and the consequences which followed. Martin Luther was an Augustinian of ability and character, but full of prejudices against the Court of Rome; and possessing that vulgar yet forcible eloquence in the vernacular, which at once insures the attention of the middle and lower classes, when these are addressed through the medium of national predilections. From a few sparks at the commencement, the controversy developed into a conflagration. Whatever his doctrines might have been at first, they settled down into the assertions, that by the Fall of Adam man has become deprived of his free will; that faith alone is sufficient for salvation; and that the best of our actions are of their own nature grievous offences. It would be altogether inconsistent with the plan of this work to go further into the theology of Protestantism than just to record a few of its unmistakeable elements and features. These have *no other* basis than the quicksand of private judgment; nor, *indeed*, can they have. That revelation which, to be *worth* any thing, must be from heaven, is reduced to a

subjective matter of opinion, instead of being recognised as an objective and obligatory rule of faith, binding upon the heart, the head, the conscience, and the morals. Hence this disastrous negation of truth has rolled down the slopes of time and circumstance, descending from precipice to precipice, until, shivered into fragments, it lies at the bottom of society in every form of heresy, schism, dissent, latitudinarianism, and infidelity. Its natural forces are every one of them centrifugal, without inherent life or settled form. Such vitality as it has displayed has been all for dissolution and destruction. Wherever it is really active, it shakes the fabric of empires; where it remains passive, it saps their foundations. There is no disguising the grand fundamental fact, that it ignores authority. Luther would have acknowledged this, had he been honest, when he lived to see his followers turning upon himself, or tearing each other in pieces. His system, in its widest sense, commenced with Cain and the first murder, and will reach to the last crime of the last revolution. The piety of private individuals possesses little intrinsic connection with the point at issue. Wherever it exists, it must be the operation of the grace of God, producing supernatural results in spite of error; as to which, some of the general effects are mercifully neutralised through a counteracting Providence, by no means bound to give an account of its actions. Protestantism should be surveyed as to what it is, in the present state of things, and as to what it has perpetrated in the world. Every deist that has ever existed has a right to arrange himself with Luther, as Germany is ready enough to acknowledge; nor can the Antinomian or Anabaptist, revelling in the mire of undenounced licentiousness, be logically expelled from his company. The consequences of an audacity which impugned the Canon of Scripture on the one hand, whilst on the other it defied the Living Voice which settles, sanctions, and interprets it, are written in a thousand battles which have desolated the face of the earth,—in the convulsions which have made the civilised family of mankind rock and reel to its centre,—in the worship of wealth, which has polluted the *altars* of the Most High,—and in the

problem yet to be solved, of poverty without knowledge, under the hoof of oppression, as well as without religion to soften its lot in this life, or illuminate its prospects for the future.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1516-1648.

GENERAL SKETCHES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY FROM THE AGE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

FERDINAND the Catholic, having survived his queen Isabella and his son-in-law Philip of Austria, died at length in A.D. 1516, after the acquisition of Upper Navarre from the family of John d'Albret, who could only retain the lower districts and Bearn; so that the kingdom of the Spains now extended from the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. Charles, the son of Philip, was in the sixteenth year of his age at the death of his grandfather. Joanna, his mother, rendered incapable of reigning through insanity, could not avoid being set aside; and within three or four years more, Maximilian being dead, he succeeded to the imperial dignity; besides having come into possession of the County of Burgundy, the Netherlands, the American Indies, as they were termed, together with the crowns of Naples and Sicily, the island of Sardinia, and some fortresses on the northern coasts of Africa. Cardinal Ximenes had consolidated for him his Iberian throne; so that this fortunate prince had but just reached the period of manhood when he found himself the most powerful monarch in Europe, and at the same time a contemporary with other sovereigns of no ordinary energy or ability, such as Emanuel at Lisbon, Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. of France, and Solyman the Magnificent at Constantinople. Leo X., however, no less renowned for his political wisdom than his munificent patronage of the arts and sciences, stood alone in the attention with which he watched the approaching rivalry between the French

and Spanish sovereigns. Had his policy been properly followed out, immense mischief would have been prevented. He had advised the German electors to fix upon one of their own number or nation to wear the diadem: a step which might have gone far towards preserving the political equilibrium throughout Christendom. Yet the prodigality of this pontiff accelerated the crisis of danger from another quarter; and both the vacillation of the pope and the worldliness of the emperor, at a subsequent period of their respective histories, in dealing with Luther, must be mentioned as prominent amongst the misfortunes of the times. More immediate perils of a secular nature lay in the mind of Francis, who could never forget the mortifying preference which Germany had displayed in selecting Charles, instead of himself, to succeed Maximilian. He also felt bound in honour, as well as interest, to support the excluded king of Navarre, a thoroughly French connection. Visions of recovering Naples sometimes floated in his rather ardent imagination. He further feared that Charles might reclaim the Duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire, which ultimately proved to be the case; nor was the Duchy of Burgundy itself deemed altogether free from danger. He had moreover contracted a recent alliance with the Duke of Guelderland, an hereditary enemy of the Austrian family. The Pope, when warmly solicited to espouse one or other of the competitors for Italian influence, endeavoured in vain to observe the strictest impartiality. Henry VIII. of England might have afforded the most useful assistance towards the preservation of peace; but his talents, though by no means despicable, were marred by inordinate vanity. He nourished ambitious schemes of his own: he fancied himself the arbiter of Europe; his accession had united and settled the claims of a double dynasty; his wealth was enormous, before his extravagance had exhausted it; his prerogative had grown so ponderous at home, that he imagined his influence would not fail to be equally irresistible abroad; and hence his entire tone became assuming and imperious, exactly when, to have effected any good, it ought to have been conciliatory. After hostilities began, Leo X., who had joined with

the emperor and England against France, as the least of two great evils, just lived to witness the rapid progress of Charles in Italy, where the French were nearly expelled from the Milanese, although their own country was invaded without much effect by the English. But a conspiracy of the Constable Bourbon appeared pregnant with far more important consequences, particularly when the injured fugitive had entered the imperial service. His countrymen were defeated in the battle of Biagrassa, memorable for the death of the Chevalier Bayard, and the rebuke administered by him to all traitors, before he was removed in his glory from the field. Yet the following year was still more disastrous to Francis; for in the action near Pavia, 24th of February, A.D. 1525, he lost a noble army, the last relics of whatever remained to him beyond the Alps, his personal liberty, and in fact every thing except the honour of his crown. The subsequent treaty of Madrid obtained his freedom indeed, on conditions so hard, that Europe, roused rather late to some sense of danger, formed a league, with Clement VII. at the head of it, to set reasonable limits to the overweening aggrandisement of the emperor. But the imperialists under Bourbon, become rabid for prey or plunder, and consisting to a great extent of German Lutherans in the fresh fervours of their heresy, marched at once to Rome in May, A.D. 1527; where, though the Constable died beneath the walls, which his banditti had mounted, such scenes were enacted as threw into comparative shadow the barbarism of Alaric or Genseric. Robertson, a Protestant historian, has declared that it is impossible to describe or even imagine them. Churches, palaces, and private houses underwent pillage without mercy. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Whatever might be respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed only the more to provoke the rage of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their mothers, and on those altars to which they had fled for safety. Cardinals, nobles, priests, after the endurance of every indignity and torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the terrors of the most cruel deaths, to extort from them their hidden treasures. The

booty in ready money alone amounted to 1,000,000 of ducats; nor did the outrages cease when the first fury of the storm was over. The Pope, called away from celebrating High Mass at St. Peter's, found his castle of St. Angelo an insufficient refuge. He was arrested in the name of Charles, and doomed to close confinement. His conqueror played the part of a hypocrite with unparalleled gravity. Spain was shocked at the intelligence. Its sovereign veiled the joy of his heart under the symbols of profound mourning at the success of his arms; and he even ordered prayers to be offered in every church of his dominions for that identical captive whose liberation he could have procured any moment by a letter to his generals. Who, after this, can wonder at the ecclesiastical phenomena of the sixteenth century?

The French had to see their best efforts again discomfited through the death of their general, Lautrec, the revolt of Andrew Doria, the loss of their garrison at Genoa, together with the ruin of another fine army before Naples, ere the Peace of Cambray, A.D. 1529, assuaged the passions of warfare, and abandoned the Italian States to the will of Charles. He reduced the Florentines under the dominion of the Medici; the Sforzas were restored at Milan; but trains were laid every where, which secretly, yet not the less surely, secured the future culmination of Spanish interests. The emperor, at this particular juncture, well knew that moderation would better promote his ultimate views than any political severity. Solyman had, a few years previous to the present pacification, reduced Rhodes, to whose gallant knights of St. John Charles had awarded Malta. The dreadful slaughter at Mohatz had enabled him to place the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary upon the head of his brother, Ferdinand; but the Turks had overrun the latter kingdom, and were menacing Austria. The confederacy of the Protestant princes threatened to take the shape it soon after assumed at Smalcalde; and the fanaticism of the Anabaptists seemed rapidly approaching the putrescent stages of its progress in various districts of Germany. With no real consistency could any authority, save that of the Catholic Church, suppress their spi-

ritual vagaries. They were the evaporations of private judgment brooding over Divine Revelation, upon fundamentally erroneous principles; and corrupting, as a matter of course, into the unconstrained indulgence of sensual passion. That such results should not always follow in heretical countries arises from certain elements of Catholicity still retained in society. Muncer, the earliest prophet of this sect, who had as much right to his notions, upon the grounds of Protestantism, as Luther or Calvin had to theirs, perished on a scaffold at Mulhausen, as early as A.D. 1526. They were neither more nor less than the Mormonites of their day and generation; nor could John Matthias, the baker of Haarlem, nor John Bocold, the tailor of Leyden, so long as they abstained from overt violence, be justly called to account by those persons who seized upon ecclesiastical property, or conceded a couple of consorts to the evangelical Landgrave of Hesse. At Munster, in Westphalia, the two Johns of Holland attempted to found their republic, which was to subdue the whole world to the sceptre of the King of saints. After atrocities not to be told, the bishop of the city and diocese had to suppress them by military force, A.D. 1533-5; at the very period when the emperor was undertaking his expedition against the Mahometan polygamists on the coast of Barbary. Hayraddin of the Red Beard, one of the most desperate pirates that ever sailed the seas, had succeeded his brother Aruk or Horuc, in the sovereignty of Algiers, which he had formerly assisted him to usurp from the Abuhafides. Attracted by the fame of Solyman, as also to obtain a patron the grandeur of whose name might protect his naval depredations, he placed his dominions under the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte; a mark of submission so flattering to the sultan, that he nominated him admiral of the entire Turkish fleet. Proud of such power and distinction, and professing himself a tributary to the padisha at Constantinople, he acquired Tunis, of which the expelled chieftain, Muley Hassam, applied to Charles V. for help towards his restoration. The ships and shores of every Christian state in the Mediterranean had suffered from the ravages of Barbarossa; so that the emperor

almost fancied himself a Crusader, when he captured the Goletta with 300 pieces of cannon, as well as the whole hostile squadron. On land the enemy also experienced severe reverses. Ten thousand Christian slaves were emancipated without ransom; the freedom of as many more was provided for by treaty; nor would there have been a spot on the brightness of his triumph had not his troops sacked the city without orders, through fear of losing their prey. Three myriads are said to have fallen by the edge of the sword in an assault unintended by the victor. Unhappily Barbarossa reaped no slight advantage from this horrible carnage; for Muley Hassan, having thus waded to his throne through a sea of blood, became so unpopular, that the dependency of Tunis on the crown of Spain, which was to form the foundation of a permanent peace, produced no real effect in the way of destroying piracy. Barbarossa fortified himself afresh at Algiers. His viceroy there, a renegado eunuch, soon sent out a larger number of corsairs than ever. A later expedition for the preservation of commerce turned out a most disastrous failure, A.D. 1541; partly from the perverseness of Charles in not listening to the advice of Andrew Doria, and partly through the violence of such a tempest as very rarely occurs even during the stormy season. The interval, however, of six years between the two expeditions had scarcely less tried his fortunes. He had grasped Milan, and invaded the south of France in vain. The Turks had overthrown the Germans and Hungarians at Essek on the Drave; the imperial troops in Italy had mutinied for their wages; the Castilian Cortes had refused to grant him sufficient supplies, which furnished him with an opportunity for subverting their free and ancient constitution; the citizens of Ghent, his birth-place, had withdrawn their allegiance, and offered it to his rival, which brought down upon them vengeance rather than chastisement; while the revolutions in Hungary so strengthened the sceptre of Solyman and straitened that of Ferdinand, that had it not been for the liberality of the Protestant princes, purchased indeed by scandalous compromises, and for another alliance with England, the lilies of France would have gained a lasting ascendancy over

the House of Austria. As it was, they baffled the united energies of Henry and Charles; they won a terrific victory at Cerisoles over the imperialists; and with far less edifying temerity, they shone amongst the standards and penants of Barbarossa, when, in alliance with the Ottoman adventurer, they devastated the sea-board of Italy. It was Francis, beyond all doubt, who, by his alliances with Mahometanism, first admitted the Crescent to a recognised position in the confederacy of European powers. He died in the same year with Henry VIII., A.D. 1547, after the peace of Crespi with the emperor, in A.D. 1544, had enabled him to recruit his finances, and impart the blessing of some brief repose to his almost exhausted kingdom.

Charles had now leisure to turn his attention steadily upon Germany; where if any portion of his own authority, or respect for the only true religion, was to be preserved, he had no time to lose. Luther was just gone to his final account; all the Protestant princes seemed aware that an appeal must sooner or later be made to arms; Paul *III.* had negotiated an arrangement with his imperial ally for the extirpation of heresy and the conservation of Christendom; and at length the decisive victory of Mulhausen prostrated the league of Smalcalde A.D. 1547. Its leaders, the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, were taken prisoners; the supremacy of their conqueror extended over the empire with absolute sway; while the latter, intoxicated with his success, inflicted heavy fines upon all those cities which had failed to espouse the Catholic cause, and forgot, which was far worse, that distinct line of demarcation prohibiting any temporal interference with spiritual affairs. Not content with a protest against the translation of the Council of Trent to Bologna, he attempted himself to compose the agitations of religious controversy. Imitating the Byzantine sovereigns, he ventured to publish an Interim, as it was termed; in other words, a temporary system of doctrine and worship. Destined as it was for *the* fate which every such assumption so well deserves, *it met* with general condemnation; for the idea of a *lay pontiff* could not but be considered as a self-evident

surdity; and when the champion of the Church had
)wned his own fallacy, by dispensing Maurice of Saxony
)m a solemn obligation, the last false step was made.
aurice from that moment resolved with others to adopt
entirely new line of policy. He had inherited as Duke
Saxony the territories of Meissen or Misnia from his
andfather Albert, his uncle George, and his father Henry.
e, as well as the elector, John Frederick, and the parents
both, had embraced the errors of Luther; but foreseeing
at it would be for his temporal advantage to join the
nperor, he swallowed the remonstrances of conscience, and
:ted upon the dictates of a faith without works in doing
). The laurels of Mulhausen gave him the wages he
ished for. Charles conferred upon him the electoral
gnity, which continued ever afterwards in his junior
anch of the Saxon family; as also the largest share of
e forfeited dominions of his kinsman. Public opinion in
ermany afforded him another opportunity of aggrandise-
ent, could he but turn the tables upon Charles and the
atholics, as he had done upon John Frederick and the
rotestants. His genius and courage had scarcely a match,
:cept in the depth of his own duplicity. Throwing abun-
ance of dust in the eyes of the emperor, he secretly nego-
ated with those whom he had injured; allied himself with
[enry II. of France; and made his preparations with such
rofound dissimulation, that not a single symptom appeared
: the revolution not less imminent than it proved import-
it. Its explosion alone awoke the emperor from his
umber of delusive security; an insurrection barely saved
im from actual capture at Innspruck; he had to be carried
i a litter, amidst the torments of the gout, and by the
ght of torches, over Alpine passes at midnight; the elec-
)r and landgrave obtained their liberty; the crimes of their
eliverer were forgotten in his success; and that treaty was
)ncluded at Passau A.D. 1552, which established Pro-
)stantism in Germany. Maurice soon met with his death
rom Albert of Brandenburg at Silverhausen; but his
rother Augustus inherited his talents, and consolidated
he subsequent prosperity of his house. Henry II. derived

ample remuneration for the part he had taken in these transactions by his occupation and retention of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which ultimately enabled the wisdom of Cardinal Fleury, at a later period, to secure Lorraine for France. The character and prestige of Charles suffered immense damage through these various reverses. His failure before Metz, from the gallantry of the Duke of Guise; the refusal of Ferdinand to resign the titular crown of the Romans, that Philip, the heir of Charles, might succeed his father in the empire; his declining health, thus aggravated by solicitude and humiliation; his having at length permanently appropriated Milan on the removal of the last of the Sforzas; to say nothing of his honest wish to employ his latter days in preparation for eternity,—all induced him to withdraw from the public gaze, to a charming monastic retreat in Estremadura. He fain would have first pacified Europe, agitated as it had been by his remorseless ambition. At the time of his resignation, he is described by a careful observer, as of middle size, handsomely grown, and possessing a dignified appearance. With a broad forehead, his eyes were blue, expressing much intellect; his nose was aquiline, and his skin fair; the under jaw of his face seemed long and broad, on account of which it did not shut well; and in speaking, the latter words of his sentences sounded the least intelligible. His front teeth were few and jagged; his beard was short and grey. His temperament was phlegmatic, with melancholy at the bottom of it. The gout had terribly disabled him in the hands, feet, and shoulders. His finances had never been equal to his occasions; so that economy, from habitual necessity, towards the close of his administration, often manifested penurious tendencies. He loved good cheer from the centre of his soul, frequently eating and drinking beyond what an enfeebled digestion could bear. His vices never broke out in any indecent degree of violence; and, veiled as they had always been in the robes of *decorum*, he edified both the world and the Church in his *retirement*, by looking back upon them in their true light, *by* humbly confessing and bitterly repenting of them all,

exhibiting very unostentatiously the sincerity of his
ition, in the practices of devotion and prayer, as well
e performance of severe expiatory penances.
is resignation of the empire, together with some other
ılties, had protracted the suspension of the celebrated
cil of Trent. The Bull of Paul III. for its convoca-
vas dated the 22d of May, A.D. 1542; and it was
d in the cathedral of that city from whence it de-
its name, on the 18th of December, A.D. 1545.
ers were discussed, says Alban Butler, in particular
egations, and then defined in the sessions. After
debates, it was agreed that subjects of faith and dis-
ıe should be jointly considered; and the condemnation
rors, and the decrees for the reformation of manners
d on together, there being abuses of practice relative
ere points of doctrine. The dogmas of faith are first
ined in chapters, then the contrary errors are anathe-
ed, and the articles of faith defined in canons. This
is of course in no point new, but the same which the
tles delivered, and which the Church in all ages be-
l and taught. The decrees for the reformation of
ers and ecclesiastical discipline follow the chapters
anons in the several sessions. Under Paul III. the
first were held, until an epidemical distemper removed
ıthers to Bologna, where the eighth, ninth, and tenth
arranged. A suspension, for good reasons, then oc-
d; but Julius III. reassembled the prelates at Trent
D. 1551. After the sessions, from the eleventh to
xteenth, another suspension ensued through the Ger-
wars; but not until the sacraments of the holy
rist, penance, and extreme unction had been ex-
ed, and the Protestants invited, under a safe-conduct,
tend each deliberation. Under the reigns of Mar-
II. and Paul IV. the suspension continued; but
IV. re-opened the sacred assembly in January A.D.
, when the seventeenth session proceeded, and was
ved in due course by those down to the twenty-fifth
last, involving the question of communion in both
, the sacrifice of the Mass, the latter sacraments, pur-
y, *images, the invocation* of saints, and indulgences;

after which, on the 14th of December A.D. 1563, the Council concluded with the usual acclamations and subscriptions. They comprised those of four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops present, and the deputies of thirty-nine who were absent, seven or eight abbots, as many generals of orders, and 150 theologians, selected, together with the canonists, from the most learned and pious divines in the world. There were represented in the Council, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Poland, Greece, Bavaria, Hungary, Illyria, Croatia, Moravia, Flanders, England, and Ireland. The ambassadors of the various sovereigns signed as witnesses in a separate schedule, and the confirmation of his Holiness was given on the 26th of January A.D. 1564. Eusebius has justly compared the Nicene assembly of his own day to a wreath of the most beautiful flowers; and surely the similitude may be repeated as applicable to the Tridentine fathers. They included within their conclave whatever was foremost and illustrious in the acumen, the erudition, and the saintliness of their age; while so complete and luminous are their decisions, and so wonderful the universal consent with which they have been received, that it may be doubted whether another Ecumenical Council could be necessary under almost any conceivable circumstances. How much was due to the prayers and efforts of St. Charles of Borromeo, will never be known until the final consummation. The son of the emperor enriched him with affluent pensions and the principality of Oria; but the genuine treasures of this eminent ornament of the Church were summed up in his personal piety and poverty of spirit, and the fervent zeal with which he wrapped up his heart and soul in the reception of the Tridentine decrees, and the creed and catechism accompanying them.

The right arm of Philip II. in a secular sense was his great general Emanuel Philibert. He gained the grand victory of St. Quentin over the French on the festival of *St. Lawrence*, in honour of whom the Escurial was founded *to commemorate* the event, A.D. 1557. Two years afterwards, the peace of Château Cambresis restored Emanuel

to his hereditary principalities of Savoy and Piedmont, with the country of Bresse, of which the Dukes of Savoy had been deprived, nearly a quarter of a century before, in the contest between Charles and Francis. The sceptre of Henry VIII. had passed to his son, Edward VI.: from him to his sister, the truly religious Mary, who had married Philip, and lost Calais; and from her to the illustrious Elizabeth, the pride of Anglican Protestantism, and the scourge of the Church of God. The sovereign of Spain felt quite ready to offer her the same iron hand and icy heart which had once been wedded to her far more admirable, though less fortunate sister. Although the Queen of England declined his overtures, she dreaded his power. Its pre-eminence, indeed, at that time no European potentate could venture to dispute. His nephew, Sebastian, king of Portugal, was a child. In France, the accident at a tournament, which destroyed Henry II., made way for the three disastrous reigns of his weak or wicked children, Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had fallen back into their customary turbulence. In Poland, the extinction of the Jagellons was the signal for destructive commotions; and the sultans of Turkey buried themselves in their seraglio. Amongst the republics, Genoa maintained an attachment to its interests; Venice imperfectly concealed her apprehensions beneath professions of friendship; and in Switzerland the Catholics were in strict alliance with him against the Calvinistic and Zuinglian districts. The Popes, even when personally disliking him, recognised his power as the pillar of the pontificate in its political aspects. His revenues in peace were from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 of ducats annually, and could be raised without difficulty for any war-expenditure to 12,000,000 or 13,000,000. He was thirty-one years of age at the decease of his father, A.D. 1558. Badoer, the Venetian envoy, thus draws his portrait: "The stature of his majesty is small, but with fine limbs; under a high and fair forehead, his azure eyes are tolerably large, the eyebrows are strong, and not much parted; he has a nicely shaped nose, an enormous mouth, an ugly underlip, and a *white beard; his* deportment is in the exterior that

of a Fleming, but in interior haughtiness that of a Spaniard. His digestion is worse than his diet, as in the case of the emperor, his father; to counteract which his physicians recommend the chase, as also to divert him from desponding thoughts. He hears Mass daily, and on Sundays a sermon and vespers; he gives alms regularly, as also on special occasions. In Brussels, when the poor were dying in the streets last winter of cold and hunger, he caused bread, beer, straw, and firewood to be distributed amongst 800 persons. His mind is timorous and suspicious; his love of women intemperate and sensual; his dress, out of doors, is a suit cut after the French fashion, with a mantle, cap and feather, and large buttons. Buffoons are present at his table; his dinners are brief, and seasoned with too much pastry, which disagrees with him; and his court consists of 1500 attendants. He never looks you in the face when conversing, and answers quickly, shortly, yet indecisively: he knows little of finance; but would have a good capacity, were it only more active. He loves the sciences, reads history, understands geography pretty well, and has a smattering of the fine arts; he speaks Latin, French, and Italian with fluency and correctness." Such was Philip II.,—an insidious and unamiable tyrant, yet surely not a Tiberius, as some have said, nor a Nero of the sixteenth century. In France, the Duke of Guise with his relatives usurped the entire administration, which, although bad enough in itself, came to be made infinitely worse by the growing prevalence of the Huguenots, or Protestants. These heretics, wherever they prevailed, broke the sacred images, demolished churches, pillaged and polluted their altars, burnt down monasteries, divided families, towns, cities, and provinces; so that in one season only, fourteen different armies were ravaging the country at the same time. The conference at Poissy, conducted by the Cardinal of Lorraine and Theodore Beza, at last terminated in what the latter professed to be satisfied with, namely, liberty of religious worship. But the fact was, that the whole question at issue had degenerated into a mere worldly quarrel, in which the genuine interests of our Holy Mother the Church disappeared altogether. The respective standards

of the two contending parties were, it is true, Catholicity and Calvinism, and the King of Spain naturally united himself with the former, being perfectly right in doing so; but from the Queen Catherine de Medicis downwards, there ran through all ranks a disregard of faith and morals, of course with many individual exceptions, such as could only be laying up in store a terrible retribution, at some future day of reckoning, both for the court and the people. Elizabeth of England also stirred the coals of discord, making whatever mischief she could that did not require very much pecuniary outlay. She possessed energetic talents, but had no vast treasures of mere money at her disposal.

Under these circumstances the famous affair of St. Bartholomew occurred, on the 24th of August A.D. 1572; as to which, the massacre itself, deplorable as it was, seems less hideous in the distance of time than the mendacious and unchristian spirit in which it has been exaggerated and dwelt upon by anti-catholic writers. In A.D. 1567, Condé, Coligny, and other Protestant leaders, had formed a design of surprising the King of France with the Queen Catherine, then living in security at Monceau in Brie. Had not this conspiracy been discovered, and a body of Swiss escorted the royal family to Paris, the liberties, if not the lives of the regent and her son must have remained at the mercy of their most bitter enemies. Then ensued the bloody battle of St. Denis, where Montmorency defeated the rebels, although slain himself in the action. Reinforced by German and Lutheran enlistments, Condé traversed great part of the kingdom at the head of his new army, and laid siege to Chartres, thereby obliging the court, in A.D. 1568, to agree to an accommodation. It elicited abundance of bad faith on both sides, when the war broke out again with greater fury than ever; and the cruel victory gained by Anjou and Marshal de Tavannes the next year at Jarnac involved the death of Condé, and the substitution of Admiral Coligny in his place as chieftain of the insurrectionists. These were now joined by the young King of Navarre; Anjou had to retreat, and Poictiers was invested. It proved a failure, through the skill and courage of another *Duke of Guise*, heir to the deliverer of Metz,

and the captor of Calais. Anjou and Tavannes again overthrew the Huguenots at Moncontour, a sanguinary encounter, costing the slaughter of 10,000 men; notwithstanding which, the admiral, although wounded, contrived to collect fresh troops, supported by foreign heresy, and menace the metropolis. The general misery, coupled with financial embarrassment, at length extorted a truce,—that of St. Germain-en-Laye, A.D. 1570. Hard terms, following upon scenes of bloodshed, effected little towards a real pacification. The passions of a nation were fermenting into rage, revenge, and animosity, in a corrupt age, and under the hollowest professions of hypocrisy. Charles IX. was directed by his mother to offer the Princess Margaret, her daughter, in marriage to the youthful King of Navarre; and it was to celebrate their nuptials that the principal personages of the Catholic and Protestant parties congregated in August at Paris. The admiral seemed to be acquiring an influence over the mind of Charles, through his irresistibly insinuating address, which excited the jealousy of Catherine; so that she became wilfully privy to, if she did not actually originate, a base plot for Coligny's assassination. He accordingly received a shot from some concealed arquebuss, which slightly injured him in two places. The Huguenots crowded to his hotel, exasperated to madness at the treachery, and breathing the direst intentions of savage and vindictive vengeance. The demons of suspicion and massacre once more assumed the ascendency. The Protestants were resolving to wreak fearful retaliation upon the Catholics and the Guises: the regent suddenly made up her mind to anticipate them. Hence arose the catastrophe, which had never been contemplated before, but which grew, like a hideous Scylla, out of the whirlpool of a political Charybdis. At the sound of a bell on the fatal morning, the hotel was forced by royal order; the admiral and his colleagues perished; the populace joined in the work of butchery; every suspected Protestant was sacrificed who could not either resist or conceal himself; the *horrible* contagion spread to other cities and districts; and *it is* supposed that within the limits of Paris alone, 1500 *Huguenots* paid the penalty of their former rebellions, be-

fore any thing like order could be restored. Philip meanwhile had trampled under foot every vestige of civil or religious freedom in the Spanish kingdoms, as also in Franche Comté and the Netherlands. The sanguinary Duke of Alva was already there; and Counts Egmont and Horn had sown the seeds of a protracted struggle, destined to issue in the establishment and renown of a Dutch republic. With so many difficulties upon his administration, he nevertheless strengthened himself by sea and land. At Constantinople the sultan, Selim II., whose harem contained 2000 women, was tempted by the wines of Cyprus to declare war against the Venetians, as masters of that island. Famagosta, its capital, fell after a noble defence, which, through the prayers and prudent policy of St. Pius V., brought about a league between himself, Venice, and Philip; Don John of Austria, the illegitimate son of Charles, the late emperor, by Barbara Blomberg, being appointed commander-in-chief of the combined fleet. His heroic courage was rewarded with the naval victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto, on the first Sunday in October A.D. 1571, under the patronage and intercession of the Blessed Mother of God, implored with extraordinary fervour in the devotion of the Rosary. Don John then proceeded to take Tunis and Biserta, where he would have founded a Christian principality, could but the jealousy of his half-brother have allowed it. Left, therefore, without adequate supplies, the Turks returned upon the garrison the next season, recaptured whatever territories they had recently lost on the coast of Barbary, and pretended to consider them, together with the acquisition of Cyprus, as some equivalent for their irretrievable humiliation at Lepanto. The victor in this last engagement was transferred from the Mediterranean to the Low Countries, after an arrangement made amongst the insurgents, called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the States. His efforts, however, produced nothing beyond dissatisfaction in each party. Suspected by his not very fraternal master, and perhaps misrepresented by his subjects, chagrin, if not poison, terminated

his career. It had been proposed on one occasion, that he should become a suitor for the hand of Mary Queen of Scotland, incarcerated as that princess was by her merciless relative. A single idea of the sort was quite sufficient to render the English sovereign his implacable enemy; and from that point, her interference in the Netherlands somewhat deepened in its efficiency and intensity. Don John had indeed defeated the forces of the Pacification near Gemblours, which, with several other military advantages, assisted his successor, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, to give a new turn to the interests of Spain. There had broken out in the Seventeen Provinces, between the Catholics and Protestants, no slight tendencies to a separation of their respective sympathies and associations. Hence arose the union of Utrecht, A.D. 1579, including, besides that state, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland; in each of which evangelicalism predominated. The Prince of Orange ultimately governed their affairs as stadtholder. On the opposite side, the orthodox party also drew into closer confederacy among themselves, as apart from the others, selecting the Duke of Anjou as their protector. Farnese managed matters better than his predecessor; and to his sagacious clemency it was owing that the crown of Spain retained, after a tremendous struggle, the ten best provinces, which were nearly all Catholic, or at least in the end once again became so.

While Philip was losing his Batavian states, some singular changes in Morocco and Portugal brought about the addition of the latter kingdom to his already vast though scattered empire. The Merinides had succeeded the Mowaheddins in the possession of those fertile districts between Mount Atlas and the Mediterranean, Algiers and the Atlantic Ocean, just as the Abuhafides had occupied all the rest of the coast of Barbary; the latter were overthrown, as we have seen, by Turkish corsairs; the former were supplanted by the Sheriffs, or descendants of the great prophet of the Arabs. Professing themselves to be *the* genuine saints of Islam, these last pretended that they *had* received a commission from God to deliver Magrab, or

the western country, from the Christian infidels, meaning the Portuguese. The emir of the Merinides was murdered, as he sat upon his throne, by two of the Sheriffs; and Morocco swore allegiance upon the Koran to Hamed, or Mohamed, the founder of the existing dynasty; he conquered Fez, and reduced every adjacent chieftain to an absolute obedience. Henry VIII. of England concluded a commercial treaty with him, relating to his sugar-plantations at Tarudant, and provided him with ammunition and arms. His son, Abdallah Muley Moloch, must have governed with energy and ability, if we may judge from the state of his realm, and the attachment of his people. He had banished, however, a brother, Muley Muhamed, who took refuge at Lisbon in the reign of Don Sebastian, a young monarch very ambitious, and already occupied with the idea of going to Goa, and assuming the diadem of the East Indies. He was the great-grandson of the illustrious Emanuel, by John Prince of Brazil, and Joanna, second daughter of Charles V.; the father died before the birth of his heir, leaving his broken-hearted widow pregnant in her twentieth year; hence all the hopes of the nation were centered in this posthumous infant. Prayers and processions were offered in every church from the Minho to Cape St. Vincent; notwithstanding which, the most alarming portents preceded the royal accouchement; a shadowy woman, clad in black, was seen to stand by the side of Joanna, snapping her fingers and blowing into the air, as if predicting the futility of all that the public might be expecting; and Moorish figures, with torches in their hands, rushed by the palace-windows on the wintry blast, in full view of the princess and her ladies, uttering doleful cries as they descended into the sea. In the night of the 15th January A.D. 1554, a shout of exultation announced the entrance into the world of Don Sebastian, whose romantic fate has rendered his name famous in song and story. Contrary to the advice of Philip, of his grandmother, and of every sincere friend at court, his imagination, roused by the romance of the enterprise, induced him to embark with an army of 20,000 men for Africa. The Sheriff, nearly

eighty years of age, and dying from a long illness, arranged in person the order of battle, and expired before the victory was gained; but laying his finger on his lips, as a signal that his death must be concealed, orders were still apparently issued from the closed curtains of his litter, until the Portuguese forces were routed, and their sovereign probably slain; but what really befell him was never known with any certainty: A.D. 1570. His supposed remains were solemnly interred in the monastery of Belem; whilst multitudes believed that he would yet appear, that his body at least was miraculously preserved for some future advent or resurrection, to rescue his native throne from dishonour. Numerous impostors made their market upon such popular delusions; but Cardinal Henry, only surviving son of Emanuel, came to the crown, and, dying of course without heirs in a direct line, Philip II., claiming through his mother, as a daughter of Emanuel their common ancestor, overruled for the present all other competitors, and was acknowledged, after three victories, as king of Portugal, A.D. 1580. The legal title belonged to Catherine duchess of Braganza, the second daughter of Don Edward, another son of King Emanuel, her elder sister having become excluded through marrying a foreigner, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, according to the fundamental constitution of Lamego. Spain maintained her disastrous sway over Portugal for a couple of generations.

About the same period, Sir Francis Drake having perpetrated various acts of piracy and depredation among the seas and along the shores of Spanish America, his sovereign at the same time persecuting her Catholic subjects, as the imperious Jezabel of her age, Philip invaded Ireland, and Elizabeth assisted the rising Hollanders. Religious and commercial animosities were thus inflamed on both sides; and the celebrated Armada was projected, A.D. 1588. Its discomfiture resulted in part from English valour, in part from the contrariety of the elements, and in part from the absence of one animating head, heart, and soul, to wield with adequate effect so enormous an armament. Its loss proved to Spain very much what the

victory of Don John at Lepanto was to Turkey. Henceforward her political, as well as her naval supremacy, gradually declined. Whatever sums her despotic government could spare from the exhausting contest in the Netherlands, were expended in strengthening the Catholic league in France, still struggling with convulsive throes against the heresy of the Huguenots. On the death of Charles IX. his brother Henry III. abandoned the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected, to disgrace that of France, which he now ascended as the lawful heir, A.D. 1574. The Guises, however, with their ambition, energies, and aspirations, altogether eclipsed a monarch whose love of pleasure seemed ill adapted for the critical position in which he was placed. The Protestants, under their King of Navarre, had beaten the royal army in the action at Coutras, A.D. 1587, and yet found the League too strong for them. Its leader rested his popularity upon the true religion, to which he professed to be devoted, upon being the idol of the Parisians, and upon the secret power of Spain. Henry III. came to be first despised, and then hated; rumours were even circulated that the Sorbonne would sanction his being removed from the helm, and the Duke of Guise holding it in his stead, whose sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, showing a pair of golden scissors, which she wore at her girdle, ventured to say, that the best use she could make of them was, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit upon the throne of France, in order to qualify him for a cloister, so that one more deserving to reign might mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the state had suffered through the weakness of his predecessor. In reply to such a taunt, the king inwardly resolved upon an extra-judicial murder. His too powerful subject was assassinated by royal order A.D. 1588. The cardinal, his brother, shared a similar fate. The metropolis, as well as the League, flew to arms; the Duke of Mayenne, another brother, was chosen Lieutenant-general of the State. Henry was abandoned by his orthodox and former adherents, and therefore, in revenge and despair, he threw himself into an alliance with the Protestants. This false step occasioned his ruin; for advancing with

Navarre against the gates of Paris, the dagger of James Clement terminated his wretched career, and must have satisfied Henry IV. of Bourbon, his able successor, that to grasp and sway the sceptre of France, he must first enter the Church of God. The new monarch, in founding another branch of the ancient Capetian dynasty, applied to Elizabeth for aid, gained the battle of Ivri, invested Paris, and besieged Rouen, both which enterprises were traversed by the Duke of Parma, acting for Philip II.; and had it not been for the fortunate removal, through a mortal illness, of that great general at Arras, A.D. 1592, France might have sunk down from her importance into an appendage to Spain, and the Bourbons been banished from the realm, or restricted to their principality of Bearn. As it turned out, Henry changed his religion, and thereby composed for a short interval the public agitations. His native sense must have convinced him that the heresy of his family had been political, from first to last, connected neither with piety of intention nor purity of life. For the infamous licentiousness of his own morals there can be as little palliation as apology. Much of his fame has no other basis than the material prosperity which he was enabled to develope in France. Henry II. had left behind him a debt of 42,000,000 of livres. Henry III. augmented it to 330,000,000, while Henry IV. not merely bought over his opponents, almost at their own prices, for the sake of tranquillising the kingdom, but he discharged all the financial obligations of his predecessors, and left a considerable amount of balance in the treasury. Philip found his influence beyond the Pyrenees fast melting away. Amiens had been lost, but re-taken. The edict of Nantes satisfied in some degree the turbulence of the Huguenots; a return towards domestic order and improvement contrasted favourably with the catastrophe at Cadiz, where the English and Dutch fleets inflicted on the Spaniards a loss estimated at 20,000,000 ducats; and the peace of Vervins was at length concluded A.D. 1598-9.

The decease of Philip himself soon followed; and we may look back for a few moments to the administration of the other branch of his family wearing the German diadem.

Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. were prudent and judicious emperors, chiefly anxious for the peace and welfare of their people, but with little sympathy for the schemes of their more potent kinsman, the sovereign of Spain. Rudolf II. was a student. The partition of the Russian territories, the jealousies of the two divisions in the house of Saxony, and the selfish feebleness of Brandenberg, all contributed to the prevention of much open disturbance. Augustus, the successor of Maurice, improved his electorate, as far as religious dissensions would allow; for the rights of private judgment were now working out their natural consequences. Brunswick and Hesse, Bavaria and the Palatinate, in fact almost every principality in the empire, great or small, avenged itself for being obliged to abstain from external aggression, by revelling in the confusions of internal and doctrinal controversy. It was the delight of Lutherans to exhibit the number of particulars in which Calvinism agreed with the Koran, whilst the creed of Geneva retaliated by an avowal, that when fire and water should unite, then would a union with the confession of Augsburg seem not altogether impossible. The Archduke Matthias, a prince of some ambition and energy, compelled his brother Rudolf to resign the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and, in A.D. 1612, he also succeeded him in the empire. So soon as a treaty with Turkey allowed him some leisure, he began seriously to see the importance of a far more decided religious policy than his dynasty had hitherto pursued. Neither he nor Rodolf had any male issue; it became necessary, therefore, that his next relative, Ferdinand of Gratz, descended from the first emperor of that name, should be secured as his successor, which was done accordingly. At the same time, still further to strengthen his position, a family compact was arranged between Spain and Austria, that those domestic misunderstandings and coolnesses which had subsisted for sixty years should be buried for ever: A.D. 1617. Ferdinand had been educated at Madrid,—a circumstance of itself sufficiently startling to the German, Bohemian, and Hungarian Protestants, who began to look upon him as a thorough representative of Charles V. Henry IV. had been assassinated in France A.D. 1610; the Hu-

guenots held under their command, on this dreadful event, no less than 103 well-fortified towns and places. During the early years of the minority of Louis XIII. they once more spread terror far and wide; their correspondence with Lutherans and Calvinists, from Rochelle to Transylvania, and from Switzerland to Denmark, scattered suspicion and mischief throughout the most extensive regions; rebellion was reduced to a science, and Germany grew ripe for the Thirty Years' War. The Italian possessions of Spain were separated from the hereditary dominions of the emperor, by the Valtelline, a fertile and populous district, which would, if it could be obtained, connect these otherwise divided territories. The inhabitants of this important valley were chiefly Catholics, impatient to shake off the yoke of their neighbours and masters, the Protestant cantons of the Helvetic republic. Intrigues were therefore set on foot for the purpose. The hereditary succession of Juliers also inflamed the cupidity and apprehensions of both parties. It included the duchy of Cleves, the county of Mark, with the states of Berg and Ravensberg; all full of wealth and industry, exactly situated at the entrance of the Netherlands, so as to add immense political weight to the scale into which they should happen to be thrown. Their sovereign having died insane and childless, amongst many claimants, the two principal were Wolfgang, Duke of Neuburgh, a Catholic convert, warm in the interests of Spain and its viceregal court at Brussels, and Albert of Brandenberg, who had introduced Calvinism into his electorate, to attach the Prince of Orange, the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and the German Protestants, or at least some of them, to his particular cause.

Frederick of Simmern, the elector-palatine, was son-in-law to James I. of England, and fanatically attached to the catechism of Heidelburg, drawn up by his native theologians. Matthias expired on the 26th of March A.D. 1619. To his vacant purple, as he had before arranged, Ferdinand II. was elected, notwithstanding the opposition of the palatine and the Bohemian states. These last, from the days of John Huss and the Council of Constance, had got imbued with the pride of heresy; and were ready to revolt from

all authority, whether spiritual or secular, on the slightest occasion. They had already in form recognised the present emperor as their future king, before the death of his predecessor; upon three of whose representatives, at the castle of Prague, they inflicted on a subsequent occasion the cruelty of what it seems was not an uncommon practice in that country, namely, defenestration! In other words, a set of ruffians, with abundance of Scripture upon their lips, hurled the imperial officers, alive and headlong, out of a window, which is pointed out to the present hour, into the moat more than sixty feet below. The insurgents now openly receded from their previous choice, upon Protestant principles; and deposing Ferdinand, they offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederick. He foolishly accepted it; and thus commenced a conflict, which passes in history under the title of the Thirty Years' War, A.D. 1618-48. It devastated the fairest and most fertile portions of Europe. Frederick could by no means maintain himself on the giddy pinnacle to which he had climbed. England and Holland but slightly exerted themselves on his behalf. His cousin Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, firmly attached to the Catholic faith, espoused the objects of the emperor, in opposition to the interests of his own family. An engagement fought on the White Hill, in November A.D. 1620, crushed the rebellion. The royal pretender was put under the ban of the empire, deprived of his electorate, as well as his kingdom; and in the end so utterly annihilated, as to political influence, that even the precise site of his interment has never been ascertained. Ferdinand shattered in pieces the fundamental constitution of Bohemia, beheaded a vast number of the nobility, broke his captives of inferior condition on the wheel, exiled 30,000 families, confiscated property to the amount of 54,000,000 of rix-dollars, and erected on this field of national ruin an absolute and hereditary throne. The learned and pious fathers of the Society of Jesus were restored, however, to their churches and colleges; messengers of mercy, as they proved, wherever they could carry the happy tidings of salvation. The best feature about the emperor was his fidelity to religion; although *alloyed, as it sometimes* seemed, by his excessive

love of arbitrary sway. Protestanism, until his reign, had been the cloak of social disorganisation throughout Germany. He was resolved it should be so no longer. His able generals Wallenstein, Tilly, and Spinola, commanded magnificent armies, and for a period almost swept away opposition. Philip III. of Spain, A.D. 1621, was succeeded by Philip IV.; and the Duke of Lerma, the minister of the former, by Olivarez, the favourite of the latter, a far more vigorous politician. He fixed his attention on the Valtelline, not only as facilitating military intercourse between Milan and Vienna, but as shutting the Swiss out of Italy, and keeping Venice herself in awe. Bedmar, the late Spanish envoy, had recently fomented a conspiracy, which, had it not been discovered, would have given that haughty republic a master. France had again fallen back into the chaos of contending factions. Holland, in all the freshness of her commercial glories, found the effervescence of metaphysical controversies neutralising the exertion of her energies. England was the plaything of a royal pedant, amused and restrained from materially helping the palatine by the hopes held out to him of an Infanta for his son Charles. Denmark, under Christiern IV., entered the arena too late for any other purpose than augmenting the imperial triumphs; and Ferdinand failed to observe the peculiar point of the compass whence the storm-cloud of peril was to arise. Out of the distractions connected with the ministry of Louis XIII., one minion after another had basked in the sunbeams of court favour, until the genius of Richelieu almost imperceptibly superseded the universal jealousy and rivalry, and changed the character of the scene. His sagacity perceived that he must procure for France what the emperor had done for Germany,—the suppression of Protestantism as an ascendant element in the state. He negotiated a marriage between Henrietta of France and the Prince of Wales, and overreached the shallow Duke of Buckingham, so as to make the passions of that upstart nobleman subservient to his own ulterior views. He invested and reduced Rochelle, after the construction of his celebrated mole, in imitation of that at Tyre by Alexander the Great: the Huguenots then lost all their cautionary

towns, A.D. 1628-9, so that from this era the kingdom, no longer divided against itself, had a career of aggrandisement before it unimpeded by domestic obstacles. And now it was that the cardinal embarked upon the other enterprise, which had been all along the object of his contemplation, and without which the circle of his policy would have been incomplete.

Therefore, having neutralised those ingredients of perpetual insurrection at home, which, under religious pretences, could throw the realm into confusion at any time, he resolved to humble the House of Austria abroad; resuscitating, in fact, the conceptions and intentions of Henry IV. Ferdinand had issued an edict for the restitution, by the Protestants, of all the benefices and church-lands, which they had retained since the Peace of Passau; and in Italy he had revived the ancient claims of the empire, by sequestrating the dukedoms of Mantua and Montferrat, vacant through the death of the last prince in the direct line of the house of Gonzaga. A collateral representative of the founder of that family happened to be a French subject, Charles Duke of Nevers and Rethel, whom Richelieu determined to establish in his rights; thereby locating a convenient ally and instrument on the other side the Alps, for thwarting the views of Spain with regard to the Valtelline. Ferdinand stormed in vain at a check so entirely unlooked-for. The intrepid cardinal directed his sovereign to pass the mountains at Susa, until he could follow himself at the head of 20,000 men. With these he defeated the Imperialists, and dictated the Treaty of Cherasco, A.D. 1631, whereby Charles de Nevers became Duke of Mantua, with part of Montferrat; the remainder of the latter district being added to the territories of Victor Amadeus I., Duke of Savoy. France now began once more to feel her ground as a first-class power. Her government had been divided between a royal prerogative and the pretensions of provincial governors; her parliaments were in a position of formidable resistance to the court; her foreign connections were neglected; her treasury was empty; the military department was in the utmost dis-

order; the brilliancy of her crown seemed still bedimmed with the mire into which it had fallen. Richelieu reversed every one of these matters; although, in subduing the aristocracy, and fanning their respective factions, he sacrificed whatever existed of popular spirit and independence, and rendered the throne despotic. Meanwhile, the emperor was affronting Bavaria, alarming Switzerland, gloating over a recovery of the Netherlands, counteracting all French participation in Italy as far as possible, raising up an adversary, of whose prowess he little dreamed, in the person of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; depriving the cousins of the latter of their possessions in Mechlenberg, and conferring that duchy upon his mighty general, Wallenstein; rousing into wrath the elector of Brandenberg; extending his system of exactions and confiscations into Pomerania and Hesse; and making the princes of Wirtemburg and Saxony tremble for their political existence. The cardinal beheld these various incidents from afar; and out of their most complicated combinations, wove the web with which he intended to restore and preserve the balance of power in Europe. Protestantism, in the shape and potency of an organised domestic rebellion, he had suppressed and put down; but, as an external element of equilibrium, he had no objection to support it to a certain point, that it might operate as a counterpoise against the overwhelming dominancy of Austria. Hence proceeded his zealous and extraordinary patronage of the gallant king of Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus was in his thirty-sixth year. His father had left him a kingdom with little treasure, but full of warriors warmly attached to their sovereign, and the well-defined authority with which he governed them. Russia had just surrendered to him part of Livonia; Denmark had renounced the pretensions of the Oldenbourg family to reign over the Swedes against their will; Sigismond, king of Poland, who had once ruled at Stockholm, postponed his hopes of restoration for another opportunity; the exiled dukes of Mechlenberg took refuge under his iron sceptre, and instructed every oppressed individual throughout the German empire to avenge his wrongs and expec-

tations beneath the same banner; in one word, Protestantism proclaimed him her champion, and Richelieu gave the sinews of war.

His habits were of the simplest kind. Though of huge stature, the Swedish hero shared in all the bodily fatigues of his soldiers. His tactics were essentially his own, founded upon the experience and maxims of antiquity, yet modified according to modern weapons, manners, and circumstances. He relieved the inconveniences of heavy infantry, by an arrangement of smaller divisions mixed in platoons among cavalry; whereby more reliance might be placed upon the execution of rapid manœuvres, than the possession of mere physical strength. In his own mind he held and exercised the magical faculty of marvellously influencing and animating other minds, so as to play upon the natural prejudices and associations of his people, as a great master manages a well-toned instrument. Of course, when he appealed to what he called their religion, he appealed to the grossest error; but the efficacy of the spell was not the less in a human and natural sense, being analogous to the enthusiasm with which the Mahometans rally round the standard of their Prophet. Though the effect of delusion can be only temporary, yet for the moment it often may, and does produce, wonderful consequences. Such was the mighty agent summoned upon the political scene by the astute cardinal. Gustavus Adolphus, through the boldness of his enterprises, astonished the world. He was in temper mild, beneficent, susceptible of friendship and love; eloquent, popular, and full of reliance on Providence: the principal traits of his character were, in truth, magnanimity and gentleness; nor had his great ecclesiastical coadjutor displayed any minor degree of masterly talent in managing that treaty which bound them together for the occasion. Richelieu had coerced him to an observance of the strictest neutrality towards Bavaria and the members of the Catholic League, on the simple condition that they should not unite with the emperor against the Swedes; as also to preserve the rights of the Roman Church, wherever he should find it established. By these ingenious stipulations, the orthodox

princes were not only delivered from alarm on the score of religion, but had a valid pretext put before them for withholding assistance from Ferdinand, which would thus expose them to the vengeance of the northern invader. The latter rapidly advanced from Colberg and Frankfort on the Oder, to Berlin and Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped, Sept. A.D. 1631. Irresistible was the onset of the Swedes; the imperialists broke and fled. Aided by the evangelical union, after this important victory, he overran the whole of Lower Germany, from the Elbe and the Rhine to the Danube. In the following spring the Elector of Saxony entered Bohemia, and captured Prague. Count Tilly was slain in disputing against Gustavus the passage of the Lech; yet even when the king of Sweden had taken Augsburg, and entered the country around Munich, he remembered his engagements, and nobly, as well as justly, refused to retaliate upon the Bavarian capital the horrors of the sack of Magdeburg at a previous period of the war. Wallenstein, one of the most remarkable men, even in that age of military giants, had been in disgrace, until the progress of Sweden convinced the emperor of his folly in throwing into the back-ground the Achilles of his cause. Called out of his seclusion, almost on his own terms, and at least with unlimited powers, he forthwith wrested from the Saxon Elector all the laurels he had won, and even checked the conquering Swede at Nuremburg. Then ensued the hotly-contested struggle in the fatal plains of Lutzen, November A.D. 1632; when, with a far inferior force, Gustavus again encountered Wallenstein. During daylight the sanguinary struggle lasted. About two hours after its commencement, the royal ally of Richelieu had fallen in the arms of a victory, too dearly purchased for his own party at the price of his death. The Swedes fought like roused lions for the corpse of their king and the fame of their country. They were firm, even when the Saxons had vanished from that field of blood; nor could the arrival of 7000 imperial reinforcements, under Papenheim, in the smallest degree affect their resolution. That gallant nobleman was soon himself no more; yet although he felt, in his dying moments, that

his personal discomfiture had crowned the glory of his enemies, still, presuming on the death of Gustavus, his last words were those of exultation, that the empire was again safe, and the Catholic religion preserved. There was no denying this; even though the Protestant confederacy and French alliance were kept together by the talents and exertions of Oxiernstiern. Wallenstein, without his Hector, was now too grand a subject to Ferdinand. Germany, it seemed, could not bear them both. The haughty, unyielding, and mysterious warrior, whom his sovereign could barely brook whilst Gustavus Adolphus lived, was accused of treasonable designs, and assassinated in his own palace. There had always appeared a dark and gloomy romance throughout his history, of which the characteristics were more spectral than human.

The king of Hungary, son and heir to the emperor, succeeded him in his command, supported by 20,000 Italians and Spaniards under the Duke of Feria. The governor of the Netherlands, with the dukes of Lorraine and Bavaria, also brought their complements of fresh troops; and at Nordlingen the Swedish leaders experienced a severe defeat, 6th September, A.D. 1634. In consequence of this, the evangelical union, in a state of unaffected alarm, listened to proposals for a pacification between themselves and Ferdinand, at Prague, A.D. 1635; the whole weight and pressure of the war being thus thrown upon Oxiernstiern and Richelieu. The hosts of France, instead of yielding to adverse circumstances, only seemed the more to multiply from their pressure. They now attacked the Austrian monarchy at every accessible point: in the Valtelline, that they might intercept the military communications between Milan and Vienna; in Flanders, Lorraine, and Burgundy, that they might employ the Spaniards and relieve the Swedes; in Germany and Italy, that repose or confidence in any quarter should be at once impossible. An immense naval force was created in an incredibly short space of time; and a Spanish fleet was within a few years entirely burnt or destroyed by a French squadron. The finances were rendered flourishing through economy and management rather than any important new taxes. The

frontiers were fortified. The Seven United Provinces, Sweden, Savoy, and several other princes were subsidised. Holland demeaned herself by accepting money from the cardinal, until her shrewder statesmen began to perceive that in the end they would have more to fear, as it proved, from the Bourbons than the house of Hapsburg. In A.D. 1636, Banier, an officer formed in the school of Gustavus, refreshed the spirits of his countrymen by beating the imperialists at Wislock. Ferdinand II. died not long after; his successor, of the same name, making little or no difference in the administration of public affairs. The mere work of slaughter slackened only to renew its rage. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar inflicted heavy calamities on the arms of the emperor in A.D. 1638, particularly in an action near Rhinfeldt; after which he reduced Brisac; while Banier ran a superb career of triumph in Pomerania, as also, the next year, in Saxony and Bohemia. Saxe-Weimar, however, died in the course of that summer; an immense loss as a partisan, for Marshal Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his master in military science; but the decision and wisdom of the great cardinal secured his army, and its subsequent conjunction, under the Duke of Longueville, with Banier and his valiant Swedes. Could these confederates have agreed to act together, they might with common caution have accelerated the termination of hostilities; but discord neutralised their energies, and when they attacked the imperial camp at Saltzbourg, A.D. 1640, Piccolomini repulsed them with disgrace, and compelled them to quit the Austrian dominions. Yet the success fell but as a transient gleam upon waning fortunes, for in the Diet about to be held at Ratisbon, Ferdinand was as nearly taken prisoner as could be by Banier with a Swedish division, which had nevertheless to retreat in its turn, pursued by Piccolomini, across the forests of Bohemia. The escape of the Protestant from the Catholic general appeared little less than miraculous; but the brave fugitive, in evading one danger, only fell by another, since unparalleled fatigue and anxiety brought on a fever, which closed his life at Halberstadt in the forty-first year of his age. His troops were placed under the guid-

ance of Torstenson, another of those matchless chiefs whom the late King of Sweden had educated. Meanwhile the allies under Guebriant overthrew the Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini near Wolfenbuttel, thus opening an almost unobstructed road into Westphalia. At Ordingen the imperialists were not more successful; but all eyes were turned upon Torstenson, whom the cardinal was urging with all his energies, that the house of Hapsburg might yet drink deeper draughts from the chalice of adversity.

The Swedish commander soon demonstrated that his deeds would be upon a par with his fame. He defeated the Duke of Saxe-Lauenberg at Schwentz in Silesia. He then passed the Elbe, and cut his antagonists in pieces in the plains of Breitenfeldt. It was nearly the identical spot on which Gustavus Adolphus, a few years before, had gained his great victory of Leipsic. The Austrians here were once more mown down without mercy. They lost 5000 brave soldiers, 300 officers, 3000 prisoners, 46 large cannons, 116 pair of colours, and 600 waggons. The Saxon capital surrendered at discretion; nor in other parts of Europe was the star of the Hapsburg family culminating. Catalonia had revolted in Spain; Portugal had thrown off her yoke and enthroned the Duke of Braganza as John IV.; a French division had entered Rousillon and taken Perpignan; and the conspiracy of Cinque Mars had been discovered, A.D. 1642, which threatened the life and power of Richelieu, had it been suffered to proceed; but which, through the promptitude of that remarkable minister, not only strengthened his hold upon the royal mind, but obtained the principality of Sedan for the crown of France, to save the worthless head of the Duke de Bouillon. Thus triumphant over all his enemies, the proud cardinal entered Paris through a breach made in the walls to admit his gorgeous litter; and that, too, with a shroud waiting for his reception. His dissolution occurred in the winter, not long before that of his feeble sovereign Louis XIII. Their successors, and particularly Cardinal Mazarin, allowed no material alteration to be made in the line of policy, which the kingdom had been habituated to deem a prosperous one under the auspices

of Richelieu. Both Spain and Austria, however, hoped much from the minority of Louis XIV. But Condé and Turenne now presided over the military government of France: heroes like those of antiquity. The former of them routed the Spanish infantry at Rocroi in A.D. 1643; nor could the prodigious efforts of the imperialists overmatch the tactics of Turenne in the Black Forest. Torstenson had marched from Saxony into Holstein and Jutland, terribly punishing Denmark, and producing that arrangement of A.D. 1644, which detached King Christiern from the interests of the empire. The victory of Frieburg, in the same season, drove back the Count de Merci from every advanced possession he had hitherto maintained; whilst in Hungary, another Austrian army melted away at the siege of Cassova. The Swedes, under their invincible leader, now retraced their steps into Lower Saxony, driving Ferdinand and the Archduke before him, as he again entered Bohemia, approached Prague, and menaced Vienna. Torstenson then attacked and scattered his adversaries at Mount Thabor, pushing forward with such terrible vigour, that the imperial family abandoned their metropolis, to seek an asylum at Ratisbon, and at Gratz in Styria. Turenne, having been thwarted with dreadful bloodshed at Mariendahl, effected a subsequent junction with Condé, leading to the fearful engagement at Nordlingen, with the Bavarians, in August A.D. 1645. This, again, was a field where the defeat of the Swedes, in a former campaign, had rendered the soil an Aceldama; but now, both Condé and Turenne were considered the conquerors; and the latter, after receiving at Paris the congratulations of Mazarin, was despatched by that cardinal to reinstate the Elector of Treves in his ecclesiastical dominions. By the next campaign, the torments of a painful disorder compelled Torstenson to resign his post of honour and peril, which General Wrangel received from his hands, maintaining with uncommon abilities the high renown which the valour of Sweden had acquired. He and Turenne ravaged together Franconia, Silesia, and *Moravia*. In Spain, the prowess of France, under General *Harcourt*, met with nothing but mortification, even after

Condé himself had been nominated Viceroy of Catalonia. The vacillation, moreover, of Bavaria, confused the operations of the combatants on the side of Germany; since, from the position of that country, it was easily able to affect either the views of Mazarin, or the objects of Ferdinand. Wrangel had already been obliged to abandon a series of successes; until, in August A.D. 1648, the more decisive affair of Zummerhausen baffled Montecuculi, and hurried the shattered battalions of the emperor towards Augsburg. Piccolomini, on arriving from the Netherlands, failed to bring victory back to the imperialists; for Condé, Turenne, and the Swedes, soon completed their transit of the Lech, which laid Bavaria in its full extent under contribution; whilst Charles Gustavus of Deux Ponts undertook the siege of Old Prague with fresh levies forwarded from Finland and Stockholm. There was thus a clear necessity for each of the belligerents to cease from further efforts.

The famous peace of Westphalia concluded a most important struggle, which had now crimsoned the face of Europe for no less than thirty years. It was signed at Osnaburgh and Munster in October A.D. 1648, and is sometimes styled the Peace of Religion; indeed it may be said to form the foundation of our whole system of modern politics. France was permitted to retain Metz, Toul, Verdun, Pignerol, Brisac with its dependencies, the Suntgau, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right of keeping a garrison at Philipsburg; all these arrangements much facilitating the subsequent conquests of Louis XIV. Sweden acquired Pomerania, with Stettin and Wismar, the territories of Bremen and Verden, the privileges belonging to a state of the empire, and an indemnity of five millions of rix-dollars towards her expenses. Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, in lieu of his Pomeranian pretensions, was allowed Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin. The independence of the Swiss and Dutch republics was formally recognised; the latter receiving from Spain Maestricht, Bois-le-duc, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, Gravelines, and some other important towns. The poor unhappy palatine had died of a broken heart on receiving the news that Gustavus Adolphus had fallen at

Lutzen. His rank in the college of electors, with the Upper Palatinate and Amberg, was assigned to Bavaria, in return for heavy pecuniary demands which the duke had upon the emperor and the districts of Upper Austria. Charles Louis, son of the late palatine, whose acceptance of the Bohemian crown had ruined him, was reinstated in the rest of the palatinate, with an eighth place, created for his special benefit, among the electors of Germany. All the estates of the empire, which had suffered through his weak ambition, were restored as far as possible to their rights and former privileges. Bohemia was to be henceforward an hereditary kingdom in the house of Hapsburg. The succession of Juliers, Cleves, and Lorraine was to be an affair for impartial arbitration. As to religion, the pacification of Passau was confirmed to its full extent: it was further agreed that the Calvinists should be on a level with the Lutherans; that the imperial chamber should consist of twenty-six Catholic and twenty-four Protestant members; that six of the latter should be received into the aulic council; that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies should be chosen for the Diet, except when convoked for regulating concerns connected with only one of the two religions; in which case, if the point under discussion belonged to the Church, all the representatives were to be Catholic; if to either of the sects, then they were to be Protestant. On the whole, the stipulations of this celebrated treaty seemed advantageous, rather than otherwise, to the interests of the true faith; judging from the marvellous manner in which the subsequent work of conversion proceeded, amidst the utter degeneracy of the Evangelical and Calvinistic confessions from bad to worse both in doctrine and morals. The principalities, or duchies of Saxony, Wirtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, Baden, with some others, underwent certain modifications; but otherwise, Germany ended her conflict very much as she began it, at least in a territorial sense; for in all other respects, she might have been compared to a body that had once been healthful and vigorous, but which was now covered with hideous wounds, and bleeding at almost every pore.

CHAPTER XIV.

GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER, FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE TUDORS TO THE REVOLUTION.

WHEN Henry VII., after the battle of Bosworth and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, had fairly extinguished the wars of the Roses, he employed his chief attention in augmenting the prerogatives of the crown and amassing money. Some of his projects were prosecuted by his son, Henry VIII., who became heir to the kingdom on the decease of his elder brother, Prince Arthur, A.D. 1502. It is not too much to state that the boasted constitution of England was very little realised. The sovereign, whenever possessing any abilities at all, could easily overawe or manage the Houses of Parliament; so that for 140 years, A.D. 1500-1640, under the sonorous name of constitutional monarchy, the Tudors and Stuarts ruled the roast, and lived pretty much as they listed. But it was the ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century which most especially blighted for a long period the development of civil liberty in these islands; since the division into two distinct parties enabled the occupant of the throne to act as an intermediate and preponderating power, by balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, and the Protestants against the Catholics, as the case might be. Both were so guided by mere worldly principles, that, with individual exceptions, they seemed perpetually bidding, one against the other, for the royal favour; nor could either secular or religious freedom hope for any chance of fair play, throughout the two longest of the Tudor reigns, after might had overcome right, and the interests of heresy were identical with those of robbery and despotism. There had been some unhappy circumstances predisposing these realms to forsake the great centre of unity; such as the virus of Lollardism from the age of Edward III.; the greediness of the nation generally as to various pecuniary claims of the Church; a prevalence of the idea that the popes sided with France rather than England; the ambition of Wolsey,

in extorting his legantine mission for life, which seemed to superficial observers to render him almost the successor of St. Peter in this country; and above all, the heartlessness and selfishness of Henry, intent upon the enjoyment of pleasure and his own self-will. The enormous treasure inherited from his father had melted away through his expensive intermeddling with foreign affairs, and the costly character of his voluptuousness. Accustomed to boundless expenditure, and far too fond of popularity to press his people with taxes, however fair, so long as other sources of supply glittered within reach, he cast a covetous look first on the lesser, and then on the greater monasteries. Then followed the demands of royal concupiscence in other shapes and forms. Catherine of Aragon was to be got rid of for the pretty Anne Boleyn; and the consequences are well known. Cranmer rose into notice, rank, wealth, and influence, upon the ruins of Catholicity and the unlawful appetites of his master; whom he persuaded to sanction the principles of what he called a Reformation, *involving*, as it did, the filling his coffers with the choicest spoils of the Church, the subsequent appropriation to himself of her supremacy, and the gratification of his libidinous desires. The obsequious prelate also violated his own sacramental vows of ordination, and directed those very Scriptures to be translated, as a rule of faith and morals, from whose authority he had cut the only solid foundation, by permitting them to be received, settled, and interpreted, according to the dictates of private judgment. Whatever else might result from this spiritual rebellion, the poor lost their patrimony, the monks and nuns their property, the nobles their independence, the people their privileges, the parliaments their weight, and the nation its religion. Morals must have degenerated to an awful degree to account for so terrible a catastrophe. Henry, steeped to the neck in wickedness, his hands stained with rapacity upon a gigantic scale, and with the blood of his wives upon his conscience, coolly declared himself the visible head of the mystical body, in his own kingdoms, of that Redeemer, *whose* every law he had ruthlessly broken, and whose *Church* he had insulted and plundered. Naturally enough,

he several times afterwards altered his creed, so far as a creed can be said to exist, where opinions have been substituted for doctrines. On his death in A.D. 1547, the minority of his son, Edward VI., allowed a field for fresh innovations, particularly those of a Genevan or Calvinistic cast. Cranmer still maintained the ascendant, not only in persecuting Catholics, but, strange to say, in kindling those fearful piles for Protestants which were precedents for some later ones, reserved by an avenging Providence for the punishment of himself and his companions. The work of ecclesiastical pillage also still went forward, as a labour of love, on the part of the Protector Somerset and his proselytes. His grand palace in the Strand was built out of the materials of various sacred edifices; nor is it less than an ascertained fact that he had projected the demolition of Westminster Abbey, which the dean and chapter could but just save by the sacrifice of a handsome slice of their estates. Mary succeeded her brother Edward, and in vain attempted to restore the ancient service. It had been easier to pull down than it was to replace. Her piety, like that of her cousin, Cardinal Pole, the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, was without spot or stain. A dreadful rebellion, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, at the commencement of her reign, had rendered necessary the execution of Lady Jane Grey and her youthful husband, attainted of high treason for having usurped her crown. Her unpopular marriage with Philip soon followed; and amidst the mortifications connected with it, as well as those arising from the fury of surrounding factions, her health declined, and the helm of government passed into the control of such men as Gardiner and Bonner. These prelates had dreadfully temporised upon the question of the royal supremacy; against which, as Catholic martyrs, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher laid down their lives on the scaffold. Now that they were in power, Bonner seems to have revelled in wreaking vengeance upon his enemies; and on his name, whether fairly or otherwise, rests the tremendous reputation of having imitated and surpassed the cruelties of Calvin and Cranmer, in the fires of Smithfield, and the comburation of the arch-reformer, with Ridley

and Latimer, at Oxford. These horrible scenes, however guilty some of the sufferers had been in their crimes against both Church and State, excited universal indignation; especially from Alphonsus del Castro, a Spanish friar, confessor to Philip, who preached before the court, and condemned the persecution in the most pointed manner. It should never be forgotten, that the strong parliamentary opposition to blood being shed, or corporeal punishment inflicted, on mere grounds of religious difference, proceeded principally from the Catholic members, with the learned Sergeant Plowden as their leader; who afterwards refused the seals under Queen Elizabeth, rather than compromise his fidelity to Rome. Mary had neither part nor lot personally in the matter. The neglect of her consort, and the loss of Calais, at last broke her heart; when, with a regard for the constitution and religion of her country, which might under more fortunate auspices have averted innumerable evils, she transmitted the sceptre to her half-sister, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, in November A.D. 1558.

That this sovereign was an adept in the arts of dissimulation no sane writer can deny. She ascended the throne as a Catholic convert, evidently watching the signs of the times, until her penetration could decide whether life, popularity, and power would be safest with those of the old and true religion, or with the innovators. Having at length made up her mind, she proceeded with cautious and stealthy steps to rear that Anglican Establishment which now, after a lapse of three centuries, is manifestly falling into decay. It was indeed so arranged as to reflect very much of her own image and likeness. Both Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical system were one vast imposture; except in the awful enmity with which she endeavoured to extirpate from her realms every honest vestige of adherence to the Catholic faith. As to this there was no mistake. Whatever penal laws can effect was unsparingly attempted. The number of public martyrs during her administration exceeded two hundred; and it must be remembered, that *the* butchery was generally performed on the victim while *he* was in full possession of his senses! But, in addition

to all the cruel eviscerations, drawings, quarterings, and slow strangulations, must be added the bitter hardships of fines, confiscations, and imprisonments. Of these the amount can never be reckoned up, to say nothing of the transference of episcopal sees, cathedrals, minsters, chapters, chauntries, abbey lands, tithes, and benefices, from their rightful owners and occupants to the hands of plunderers and adversaries. Jails were in those days dens of infamy and dungeons of torture; in fact, the least repulsive or oppressive, when fever or the sweating-sickness kept their fatal ward as the porteresses or inmates of those sorrowful abodes. No traditional associations can be more false and delusive than those too commonly entertained with respect to Elizabeth. She used frequently to swear by the head of her father; nor, if such oaths could be any thing but profane, was the adjuration an inappropriate one. She inherited most of the cruel features of his character, only in combination with much greater prudence. Her fame rests intrinsically upon the destruction of the Armada, and the growth of that material prosperity out of which the middle classes of England were formed. M. de Bouillon, who travelled a good deal through the island under her reign, shows how the various sections of society struck his attention at that time. "The nobility," he observes, "are deeply involved in debt, principally through extraordinary expenditure in dress and the number of their servants." He might have easily added, that the queen favoured extravagance by her example, and sometimes inflicted it by her celebrated progresses, or rural visitations. But he then proceeds to tell us, that "merchants often purchased the lands of the nobles; that young ladies of rank married persons of inferior condition; and that the lower classes of the people are comparatively rich, being able to live very well indeed, yet economically; nor are they burdened with oppressive taxes." The intelligent reader will here perceive, at a glance, the germs of that aristocratic pride, that respectable prudence, that preference for the comforts of competence, and impatience under direct taxation, which mark those divisions of the body politic extending downwards from our lesser gentry to the

family householder, the rural shopkeeper, or the independent artisan. The government is stated, upon the same authority, as being entirely in the hands of the queen, who exacted implicit obedience to her mandates, having undermined the importance of parliament, and subjugated the prelates, together with the entire peerage, to the sway of the crown. The temporal lords were under sixty; consisting of a single marquis, sixteen earls, two viscounts, and forty barons. This must have been after the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. The general welfare was undoubtedly augmented. The enclosure of commons, improvements in tillage, and the breeding of stock, as well as a better system of commerce, are henceforward visible. Advances took place in the price of wool, rents, and the wages of labour. Men and women were better clothed, better lodged, and better fed. Attempts, however incomplete and imperfect, were made to repress crime, and raise the standard of taste and refinement. Literature began to bask in the beams of royal favour. Her revenues, both ordinary and extraordinary, on an average of forty-five years, were somewhere about half a million sterling per annum, and the circulating medium of current coin may be taken at about 4,000,000*l*. In all these respects, probably, France was from three to five times as well off under Henry IV. and Sully; but then money had twice the purchasing power on this side the channel which it had upon the other; and the legal rate of interest respectively was six and a half at Paris, but ten per cent in London. The militia included 87,000 men, happy in only practising their exercises one half at the same time; the cavalry was 14,000 strong, of whom 3,000 served as light horse; and 9,000 troops were engaged in other employments, either in the field, the marches, or fortresses. The marine comprised thirty-three ships of the line, besides a suitable proportion of other vessels. The seaports and arsenals attracted due attention. Sir Francis Drake sailed round the world. Virginia was occupied as a sort of colony. English cruisers remunerated themselves from the booty which the galleons of Mexico and Peru afforded them. It might be difficult, now and then, to distinguish them from priva-

teers, or even pirates; but, on the whole, the policy of Elizabeth certainly helped to bring within the grasp of her successors the trident of the navigable seas. Science universally made a move in the right direction. The queen was not without her aspirations, although the prerogative was the apple of her eye: not to have it weakened was the mainspring of her thoughts and actions; and she not unskilfully availed herself of the period of transition through which she was passing, from the baronial feudalism of the Plantagenets to the development of parliamentary insurgency. The Anglican clergy were very unpopular; since the few amongst them who were in the least degree superior to the other classes in intellect or attainments felt the inconsistency of their position, as their own mistress told them: "When you argue," said she to her bishops, "with Puritans, you are Papists; when with Papists, you are Puritans." Now, there existed a high-church class of divines, who wished to be neither the one nor the other, for they abhorred both equally. They knew that the Catholics could always convict them of heresy, and the Nonconformists bring home to them the reproach of Anti-Protestantism. Elizabeth used occasionally to amuse herself with their perplexities. That she despised them in her innermost soul was plain enough.

In Ireland, with all its barbarism, she found fewer attempts among theologians to weave ropes out of sand. Anglicanism failed there altogether, having no natural affinities with poverty or the poor. Its whole income paid into the exchequer seldom exceeded 6000*l.* a-year; to which the queen, with many murmurs, had to add 20,000*l.* more, for the maintenance of a miserable battalion, just sufficient to provoke a rebellion, without affording strength to suppress it. The ordinary incidents in the reign of the last Tudor are universally known: her hypocrisy in religion; her despotism in politics; her administrative abilities and personal vanity; her wicked interference in Scotland, and subsequent murder of its beautiful sovereign; her mischievous meddling with the Huguenots in France, and the insurgents in the Netherlands; her sanguinary executions of Norfolk and a host of others; her cruel persecutions as

to both Catholics and Dissenters; her patronage of Henry IV. and the reduction of Cadiz; her previous and far more glorious triumph over the Invincible Armada; her grievous monopolies, and the growth of national prosperity in spite of them; her flirtations with the Earls of Leicester and Essex; the general coarseness of her moral character; the Irish revolt barely overcome, and almost left to the course of circumstances; the utter loss of her popularity, and her melancholy sickness and death, the last forming a retributive contrast to the edifying departure of her sister, when, as a pious daughter of the Church, she was only too happy to divest herself of the thorny splendours of a transitory and terrestrial crown.

The removal of Elizabeth enthroned the Stuarts, in the uncouth person of James I., A.D. 1603, deriving his title from Henry VII. through his great-grandmother Margaret, eldest daughter of that monarch. Thus were the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland united in the sceptre of one sovereign, himself perhaps the most learned fool in existence. The gunpowder-plot, and the manner in which his majesty soon rendered himself contemptible, by attachments to worthless favourites, opened the understandings of most men, as to the royal divinity, which had so obligingly crossed the Tweed to be the vicegerent of Providence in London. After the death of his eldest son, Henry, the grand point of his ambition was to procure a Spanish infanta for the Prince of Wales, who, as we have already seen, had to be satisfied with Henrietta, a French princess. In the affairs of the Thirty Years' War he took little part or interest; intense detestation of that phase of Protestantism espoused by his unfortunate son-in-law, the palatine, running with the very blood in his veins. It was in vain, however, that he endeavoured to discourage the emanation of Calvinism, which rose from the sea of polemics during his reign, and spread like a misty miasma over the whole island. Elizabeth had partially foreseen the mischief, and chafed with indescribable rage whenever she beheld before her the pale or sour visage of some lean *theologian*, denouncing episcopal vestments, perhaps *episcopacy* itself, the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in

baptism, the reverence of bowing at the Holy Name, the cut of a coat, or the shape of a trencher, as the impure abominations of a certain Scarlet Lady described in the Apocalypse! The eggs of rebellion were not sufficiently hatched at that era; and so when the sovereign swore, or stamped her feet, or threatened Burleigh, or incarcerated their canting pastors, Puritanism slipt away for the moment, and trembled. But it always came back again, in some form or other, as the ghost of a guilty conscience, to arraign that Establishment which had enriched itself with the property and prerogatives of the Catholic Church, and test the title upon which it had dared to do so. When James had come into possession of the regal seat, from a kingdom rich in presbyterianism and nothing else, expectations grew strong that every trace of Popery would forthwith disappear; and disappointment groaned audibly in proportion. Finding no favour at court, the fortunes of Puritanism tried parliament, and there succeeded better. The Commons particularly were beginning again to hold up their heads. They had asserted their right, A.D. 1604, of arranging finally with regard to their own elections and returns, and had attempted the abolition of wardship and purveyance. In this assembly, to the perfect horror of the king, his court, and his hierarchy, the voice of Puritanism waxed louder and louder. It was a strange repulsive system, not without a touch of the solemn picturesque in the acerbity of its visage, the bitterness of its temper, the length of its prayers, and the liberty of its prophesying. Its doctrines were a curious compound of spiritual pepper and mustard, of which the pungency was poison to the soul, but vitality and vigour to the life and limbs of the outward man, so long as it lasted. True religion having been driven out of the realm, its counterfeits remained without chance of detection; and the established clergy being little better than dry bones, rattling at every movement which might shake them from their position or possessions, whenever any mind felt in earnest at all about a judgment to come, it turned naturally to those oracles which made such a tremendous noise about the matter. Hence there ensued an amazing aggregation of thoughtful energy, and what

was intended to be real piety, to this one focus and centre of heretical fanaticism, especially from the middle and lower classes, who could many of them read the Holy Scriptures, and which all imagined they could explain. As the cauldron came to be stirred, the waters effervesced, till they boiled over; some were ever and anon severely scalded; but meanwhile a majority of the worshippers warmed their cold hearts and hands by the fire, and already went to heaven in anticipation; although others, not so honest, excited their fellow-labourers into protracted ecstasies, and took advantage, during their being thus engaged, to help themselves out of that same kettle to the choicest morsels of the world, the flesh, and the devil! This process continued from the advent of the Stuarts to the outbreak of the Civil Wars, in no degree arrested by the accession of Charles I. in A.D. 1625; on the contrary, his patronage of Laud in England, of Strafford in Ireland, and a new Prayer-book in Scotland, only imparted a fresh impetus and momentum to the crisis.

The grievances under which the kingdom laboured were beyond question many and great. There was the Star-Chamber to begin with, consisting of the privy council and judges, removable at pleasure, with an unlimited discretionary authority to fine, imprison, or inflict corporal punishment; and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences not within reach of the common law. The High-Commission Court was still more odious, if possible, being neither more nor less than the Inquisition of the Anglican Establishment. Martial law might be instituted by proclamation; and was so sometimes on the most trivial occasions. General warrants could be issued by the crown at pleasure, involving even the use of torture, and at all events placing their victims at the mercy of timid juries and venal ministers. The power of impressment and of quartering soldiers on private families armed the sovereign, or any royal favourite, with the means of inflicting vengeance, almost at their pleasure, in the legal violation of the sanctity of hearths and homes. Then there were *forced* loans, and benevolences, and purveyance; through *the last* of which Elizabeth seldom scrupled to victual her

navy, especially during the earlier years of her reign. To these must be added the feudal privileges of wardship, whereby the entire profits of minors fell to the king during their nonage; while the hands and fortunes of females were altogether at the royal disposal. Besides all which, there were the irresponsible embargoes on merchandise; monopolies of every kind and description; prohibitions preventing parliament from interfering with particular points relative to the Church or State; the dispensing powers, through which the prerogative set at nought the law; proclamations usurping the force of acts of parliament; prohibitions of noble marriages, of persons quitting the country, and of sundry exports or imports; particular warrants for delaying justice; arbitrary imprisonments and pursuivants, as well as forcing public employments upon parties hostile to the court; and the extension of the laws of libel and constructive treason. Religious liberty was of course unknown, and by Protestantism undeserved; since each of the multifarious sects rejected all ideas of toleration for antagonists, uniting in no single object but that of defaming and conjointly persecuting the Catholic faith. Such were some of the branches of that upas-tree of despotism, which it required the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century to cut down. Had Charles I. been able to remain at peace, after his quarrels with his earlier parliaments, the interval A.D. 1629-40, during which he governed without those assemblies, might have been indefinitely prolonged. His revenue in A.D. 1633 was 800,000*l.*; and afterwards averaged 900,000*l.* for four successive years. By careful economy he had not only neutralised the thoughtless profusion of his father, and paid off the debts contracted during the French and Spanish wars, but had amassed a reserve of 200,000*l.* for any sudden emergency, secured a considerable fleet, and maintained in magnificence his four-and-twenty palaces. His picture-galleries, libraries, and collections of medals, not to mention the public museums, conferred honour upon his administration. The former sold for 50,000*l.*;—a large sum, when it is remembered that the Cartoons were only appraised at 300*l.*! His subjects were growing rich, if he could but

have let them alone; and kept the knives, whips, and branding-irons of his executioners from those sectaries, who were no worse than his own episcopalians, except that they were more in earnest about what they thought they believed, kept their hair frightfully short, made dismal faces in praying or preaching, addressed the thrones of their earthly and heavenly sovereigns through a long and sonorous nose, denounced theatres, dances, drunkenness, Sunday Maypoles, and worldly amusements, and preferred for themselves thin potations and hot suppers. The rate of interest for money had fallen from ten to eight per cent. Exports, imports, and customs were flourishing. Wheat was about forty shillings a quarter, and meat fourpence a pound. Molino, the Venetian ambassador, says of London, where he resided under James I., that it had 300,000 inhabitants within its walls and suburbs; and that it was one of the first cities in Europe. He dwells on the number of its merchants, and the opulence of its magazines in the way of wares both for use and luxury; as also on the splendid buildings and noble churches, which, "evincing the piety and religion of their ancestors, are now abandoned and desolate; little being left but the shells, more frequently serving for promenades and exchanges than for any purposes of Divine worship." The police must have been indifferent; for the definition of a justice of the peace was, "an animal, that for half a dozen chickens would dispense with half a dozen penal statutes," as a member ventured to repeat it in the House of Commons. Charles derived about a third of his revenue from decidedly illegal sources; besides which, the pressure of purveyance could hardly be calculated. A pigeon, for instance, sold for sixpence in the market; while the royal customer would only pay a halfpenny a-piece, upon a large quantity, if the king was in progress, as he perpetually was, from one of his palaces to another! The woods and forests, however, had got fearfully dilapidated. In fact, no department of the exchequer was deemed otherwise than unpopular; excepting that which consisted of fines and compositions, wrung from the persecuted Catholics, that they might obtain, at the hands of a Protestant government, the im-

perfect liberty of worshipping Almighty God according to their consciences.

Charles had the unhappy destiny of being believed or trusted by no one. It seemed to be thought that falsehood and subtlety, or, as it was sometimes styled, king-craft, formed the normal habitude of his mind; and it really appeared so. The contest began with the Long Parliament in A.D. 1640. The proud Strafford fell, together with Archbishop Laud, and their accomplices, almost in the first shock of the political earthquake. Arms were resorted to by both parties within two years; Scotland looking on with her solemn league and covenant, as a vulture descries its prey; and Ireland being thrown into violent fits of confusion as usual. Various battles, from that of Edgehill to Naseby in A.D. 1645, severely tried the mettle both of the Roundheads and Cavaliers; whilst few on either side could refuse a tear at the fate of such patriots as Hampden or Falkland. The king had, perhaps, the best of it, until Vane called in the canny Scots; sadly disappointed as these last were when the genius of Oliver Cromwell erected upon the ruins of Presbyterianism the more specious imposture of Independency. Charles laid his head on the block before Whitehall in January A.D. 1649; which has wonderfully extenuated the colossal vices of his character, and made him a nominal martyr in the Anglican Establishment. The monarchy was now called a republic or commonwealth; the two houses of parliament subsiding, together with many other institutions, into that volcanic crater, out of which a short-lived Protectorate arose. In some respects, it must be admitted that Cromwell was the Napoleon of his age and country, allowances being made for the essential difference of their respective periods and circumstances. He contrived to render England respected both at home and abroad; but at the same time stood erect upon his own pedestal, as the unrobed personification of a fraudulent system and a wicked faction. It was hypocrisy on the scale of the statue of Memnon at Thebes in Egypt. His conquest of Ireland displayed the utmost savagery of fanaticism; that of Scotland, the unfathomable depth of his dissimulation. Charles II.

escaped to the continent, after having been crowned at Scone, and defeated at Worcester. The victor may be said to have reigned over the three kingdoms for five years, A.D. 1653-8; succeeded by his son Richard for the briefest interval, and carrying to the grave with himself every vestige of the greatness of his family. Mankind cannot wear a mask for ever; and rarely has any event been hailed with heartier gratulation than the Restoration of the Stuarts in A.D. 1660. But they had learned nothing in adversity, unless it were to be ashamed of virtue; and tremendous was the reaction from the heresy of the Westminster Catechism to the profligacy of the Merry Monarch and his mistresses. Clarendon preserved some external decency to his exile in A.D. 1667. Although contrary to compact, the Act of Uniformity wrenched about 2000 clergymen out of their comfortable livings, and plagued the Dissenters to death during the remainder of the life of Charles. A set of vile ministers then came into office, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, termed the Cabal, from the initial letters of their names, for six years; followed by the administration of the Earl of Danby for five more; when, in A.D. 1678, the infernal plot of Titus Oates, unparalleled for its atrocity in British history, stained the scaffolds with Catholic blood, and left a blot upon our national humanity beyond the power of posterity to erase. Lord Stafford was the last innocent victim; yet nothing seemed able to diminish either the violence of the House of Commons or the bigotry of the excited populace. James Duke of York had married Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, by whom he had two daughters; one married to the Prince of Orange, the other to Prince George of Denmark. Their father, from honest conviction, became a convert to the true faith; and now the grand object was to bar his succession to the throne, as his brother Charles had no legitimate issue, by a Bill of Exclusion. The project failed, although Protestantism exerted itself to the uttermost, descending to the vilest calumnies, the most worldly policy, and some of the blackest atrocities for the purpose. Edinburgh caught the infection, whence it spread from the

capital throughout many of the counties; yet as prelacy beyond the Tweed was deemed quite as bad as Popery, the rage of the Scotch Covenanters rather took the direction of assailing those who were in possession of ecclesiastical wealth and authority, in other words, the Anglican Episcopalians. Archbishop Sharpe was barbarously murdered by them; for the spirit of John Knox had infused a genuine dash of demoniacal fury into Caledonian Cameronianism. Meanwhile the king subsided into a tributary of France, receiving annual subsidies from Louis XIV., which that monarch was too willing to pay towards the promotion of those ambitious schemes that England alone could have traversed, and which Charles was too willing to accept, that he might avoid encountering another parliament. The Habeas Corpus Act had happily passed, just as the nicknames of Whig and Tory began to be as current as some of their predecessors during the scarcely forgotten civil wars. Lord Russell, an immensely over-rated partisan, together with Algernon Sydney, underwent decapitation, through the Rye-House plot, and a gross perversion of equity. Chief-Justice Scroggs, and other wretches of similar character, polluted the ermine at that time; just as Jeffreys disgraced the seals somewhat later. Charles had dexterously availed himself of the reaction in his favour produced in the popular mind by the outrageous excesses of the exclusionists; so that the doctrines of unlimited passive obedience to the regal power came to be openly patronised at Oxford, and taught as a kind of Christianity from several thousand episcopalian pulpits. Anglicans could swallow a slavish despotism with regard to a secular sovereign, ready to enthral the liberties of the kingdom; but their pride rejected the spiritual obedience to that sole centre of unity whose authority, derived from God, can alone secure for man the enjoyment of an exalted freedom. Charles II. was received, on his death-bed, into that holy Church which, like her Divine Founder, yearns to the very last moment for the salvation even of the vilest sinners; and James was quietly proclaimed when his brother had expired, 6th February, A.D. 1685.

This prince, though by no means clear from immorality,

had always maintained a far more respectable private character than his predecessor. He had contributed in no slight degree to the development of our naval power both personally and officially. From the era of the Spanish Armada, indeed, it had never ceased to culminate. Neither the follies nor favouritism of his grandfather checked its advancement: during the civil wars Blake had rendered it illustrious, more particularly when, soon afterwards, A.D. 1652, he achieved his splendid triumph, off Portland, over the Dutch fleet under Van Tromp and De Ruyter. The struggles for maritime supremacy between England and Holland were analogous to those between Genoa and Venice at an earlier period. Sir Harry Vane meanwhile had performed wonders at the Admiralty. Before the domination of Oliver Cromwell, so complete an abolition of abuses had been effected, that although the profits of certain departments had been cut down from 30,000*l.* per annum to the modest salary of 1000*l.* a-year, in the spring of A.D. 1653, there were 100 vessels of war in our dockyards and harbours, preparing to sail under Monk and Dean. These gallant leaders defeated the equally numerous fleet of Holland on the 2d of June, after a severe engagement, which raged during that and the subsequent day; when, although Dean died in the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, and Blake coming up with seasonable re-inforcements, the English blockaded the entire coasts of their rivals. The latter, however, resolved upon another effort. Repairing and re-manning their squadrons within eight weeks, Van Tromp sailed forth with a new armament, and encountered Monk for three successive days, when at last the Nelson of Holland, on the 31st of July, in the act of animating his brave sailors, was shot through the heart with a musket-ball. The British victory was complete; twenty-five large ships were captured, and the sovereignty of the ocean was conceded by solemn treaty. Cromwell then declared war against Spain. Penn and Venables attempted Hispaniola, and conquered Jamaica. Two galleons of the Plate fleet rewarded the audacity of the assailants off Cadiz; *besides* a couple of others driven on shore, and there consumed by fire, A.D. 1656. In the same year, Blake con-

ducted thirty ships of the line into the Mediterranean, paid a visit to Leghorn, where he exacted full reparation from Tuscany for injuries perpetrated against British commerce, whilst at the same time he chastised Algiers and Tunis for their piracies, and blew the castles of Porto Forino and Goletta into the air with his artillery and mines. At length hearing that sixteen Spanish sail had taken shelter in the Canaries, he pursued them thither, and found them strongly protected in the bay of Santa Cruz. After a fierce contest, the entire squadron, with all the treasure-ships, were destroyed or burnt. Trade, commerce, and colonies, expanded as might well be expected beneath the wings of such maritime fame. Even the East-India Company felt its temporary influence, anticipatory of a greater result, which would ultimately arrive, after multifarious changes and fluctuations. Five years from the Restoration had hardly elapsed before the seizure of New York in North America; and the apprehensions which Holland entertained for a stadtholder, who was nephew to the king of England, led to another life-and-death conflict for the honours of the ocean. De Witt, the grand pensionary, abhorred the House of Orange; and the war of A.D. 1665-7 was at first decidedly popular. Charles himself liked ships, and had a general taste for naval architecture. His brother James had the very soul of a royal sailor, and was now high-admiral of England, with a fleet of 100 sail. The furious battle of June illustrated the spirit of both nations. The duke at last blew up the Dutch admiral Opdam, captured thirty-five prizes, and drove his adversary into the Texel. It was further supposed, that but from some unfortunate mistake in orders, the entire forces of Holland might have fallen a sacrifice. Be this as it may, seventy-eight noble vessels, under Albemarle and Prince Rupert, ought to have fought the memorable engagement of June A.D. 1666, against De Ruyter and the son of the late Van Tromp, who had ninety ships, reinforced during the fight with sixteen more; whilst Rupert unhappily, some days before the action, had been sent away with twenty of the British line against the French, who were said to have entered the Channel with forty sail under the Duke of Beaufort. The real struggle, therefore,

occurred between Albemarle alone with only fifty-eight ships on one side, against the champions of Holland with forces almost double on the other. Night and morning succeeded each other three times ere the sanguinary battle closed, as it was imagined, to the advantage of the Dutch; yet, singular to relate, notwithstanding the inequality of the combatants, this was not to be so. A fresh fleet was descried in the offing, which proved to be that of Prince Rupert. On the fourth day, until sunset, the horrors of carnage were renewed, without victory declaring for either the flags of England or Holland, excepting that the former escaped from the jaws of destruction not more injured than the other, notwithstanding such fearful odds as were against Albemarle, until Rupert arrived. In the following July, one more final attempt was made to settle the superiority, with about equal vessels, men, and guns, on both sides, and with the same commanders. The British Jack obtained a complete triumph, and inflicted heavy injuries upon their antagonists, not so much in the battle, as afterwards in ravaging their coasts. Amidst the subsequent negotiations at Breda, De Witt was able to retaliate by burning some of our ships in the Medway; and having made several fruitless attacks upon Portsmouth and Plymouth, his hero De Ruyter rode up and down the intermediate seas with a broom at his mast-head. But the fact was, that the king had most scandalously misappropriated the parliamentary grants for the navy, so that the affair at Chatham, discreditable as it proved to all parties, only showed that an armed warrior may attack his antagonist out of his clothes, if he has the fortune to find him so, with comparative impunity. The marine of Holland, from that hour, surrendered every pretension to an actual rivalry with England. With the latter has ever since remained the trident of the seas; and no inconsiderable share of the honour may be set down as due to the valour and exertions of James II.

Had he not been a Catholic, this would have been readily recognised; and if his subsequent want of wisdom or moral honesty may not be defended, it cannot but be explained by the inherent villany of the age in which he lived, and the way in which Protestantism had treated

him. He had known from personal experience what manner of men his contemporary assailants were; even the best of their divines, who had something like a pious character to lose, such as Burnet for example. The rebellion of Monmouth seems to have clouded over his entire character for humanity, but perhaps unfairly; since an intelligent witness, likely to be well informed, assures us that he never forgave Jeffreys for having executed so many in the west, contrary to his express injunctions. His second consort must have been a prime blessing to him; and when she bore him a son, considered to be an imposture by his opponents, without a shadow of pretext for so vile an accusation, her loveliness and blamelessness could not fail to render the calumny all the more piercingly poignant. Yet he had pledged his royal word to protect the establishment; and it is notorious that the head of the Church, Innocent XI., heartily disapproved of his tergiversation. Had James not been blinded by his own obstinacy, he would have listened to the parental intimations of his Holiness, who declined granting a dispensation for Father Petre from the rules of his order, that he might be made first a bishop and then a cardinal. The moderate Catholics were for supporting a good Franciscan friar, Mansuete, from Lorraine, whose influence and prudence were, however, forthwith overruled by the brilliant but urgent policy of the Jesuits. Every thing went forward too fast. Disputes with Cambridge and Oxford compromised his majesty at every turn. His proclamation of liberty of conscience, honourable as it was in itself, came out at the wrong moment and under dubious auspices. The state of Scotland and Ireland; the augmented coolness between James and Louis, from whom the former had received large pensions, but whom the latter now wished to embroil with his nephew and son-in-law; the pelting hail-storm of slanders and insinuations, maintained without intermission from all the Protestant pulpits in the three realms; these, and a thousand other tokens, betrayed the quaking ground. The trial and acquittal of the seven bishops sealed his approaching ruin. The opinions and good wishes, if not the affections, of nearly two-thirds of his subjects, inclined rapidly

towards the Prince of Orange. This aspiring politician had already intrigued with a party in England for the succession to the crown; had favoured the exclusion-act proposed during the last reign; had winked hard at the expedition of Monmouth; had invited Burnet to his court and counsels at the Hague; and had recently set himself out before the world as the deliverer of Protestantism of all colours from bondage and oppression. In truth, the ambition of Louis XIV. had so alarmed the greater part of Europe, that the most powerful of the other Catholic princes, with the Pontiff himself at their head, had entered into bonds of the strictest amity with William III. He was at length formally invited over by the memorial of Lords Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Darnley, Lumley, Sydney, afterwards Lord Rodney, Admiral Russell, and the Bishop of London. The States were drawn into the design; for William was now their stadtholder. James remained in a state of judicial blindness, until it was too late to avoid his own downfall. The invader settled matters between his wife and mistress; his republic furnished him with money, men, and armed vessels; one of those solemn fasts was proclaimed, which must be beyond measure salubrious to Dutch digestions. Burnet prayed a series of prayers, which involved his comfortable location in the palace and revenues of the see of Salisbury; and the expedition landed at Brixham, in Torbay, on the 5th of November, A.D. 1688. Lord Cornbury, as a military man, was probably the first open deserter: becoming thus a sort of signal for the rats to run. Verily their name and numbers were legion! The cause of the king was at once seen and felt to be desperate; and he resolved to quit the kingdom. The queen escaped with her child; her husband, having endeavoured to do the same, was apprehended at Feversham, and brought back to London; but ultimately got away, and joined his consort. After an assembly of the National Convention, and tedious debates in both Houses of Parliament, remarkable for the density of their dulness and the voluble verbosity in which a multitude of wicked men arrayed their rascality and selfishness in the robes of patriotism and virtue, the throne was declared vacant; in

other words, William and Mary ascended it. The Declaration of Rights settled the constitution: so that, after half a century of confusion, from the Long Parliament to the Revolution, A.D. 1640-90, there was imposed upon the people another grand deception; and under the name of a monarchy, this empire, for a period precisely identical in duration with that from Henry VII. to the Great Rebellion, namely, 140 years, became subjected to an aristocracy who, from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, dictated to the crown, moulded their own House of Lords, packed that of the Commons, and trampled upon the privileges of the people, A.D. 1690-1830.

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEY OF RELIGION—PANORAMA OF THE POLITICS OF EUROPE FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE AGE OF MARIA THERESA.

When Luther and his assistants first beheld the astonishing progress which Protestantism, in some shape or other, seemed to be making throughout Europe, their conviction was that the Catholic Church had received its death-blow. There is a profane hexameter yet extant, attributed to the German arch-heretic, implying this very idea; and it may be interesting, therefore, to give a glance at the genuine state of the case. Looking at it from whatever point we may, it will be found sufficiently painful. The full flow of error appears to have gone on down to the pontificate of Sixtus Quintus, when careful observation will show that the ebb began to set in. The consequences of the great Council of Trent, the noble exertions of the Society of Jesus, the bitter experience of what the ecclesiastical revolt had really produced, at last told. Nor had such popes as St. Pius V. lived in vain; nor such other saints as those of the sixteenth century, whose names will readily occur to the reader; yet surely the scene was an awful one. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, and Scotland were entirely lost; *Germany* almost so. Bohemia and Poland

were infected to a very great degree, as was also the low country of Flanders. France lay in profound confusion. The Venetian territories, Italy, Spain, Portugal, with a few islands, almost alone remained faithful. Prussia took the lead in an extensive secularisation of Church property. In Polish Prussia the great cities had Lutheranism established by express charters. In Poland itself, by far the major part of the nobility had embraced Protestantism; and so many of the episcopal sees were in heresy as to give a most decided preponderance in the whole senate against Catholicity. In Hungary, Ferdinand could obtain nothing from the Diet hostile in the least degree towards the new opinions, although Turkey was at the door. In A.D. 1554, a Lutheran was chosen palatine of that kingdom: a representative of the successor of St. Stephen! Transylvania severed herself altogether from Rome; the crown seized an enormous proportion of the tithes, and the States confiscated the remainder. In the north-west of Europe matters were no better. Wurtzburg and Bamburg beheld nearly all their magnates, magistrates, burghers, and rural populations, fall away from the true faith; and throughout Bavaria it was precisely the same. In Austria, not more than the thirtieth part of the inhabitants remained adherents to the Creed of the Apostles; nor at Vienna for twenty years was there one student of its university who entered the priesthood. In Saltzburg, and the three ecclesiastical electorates of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence; in Westphalia and Cleves; in the hilly or mountainous districts, as well as the larger towns or villages of the open country, the vast mass of the inhabitants had seceded from the centre of unity; and this to the extent of nine out of ten, taking an average of the German territories all through. The archbishoprics and bishoprics of Magdeburg, Bremen, Halberstadt, Lubeck, Verden, Minden, and the Abbey of Quedlenburg, were in the possession of those who had apostatised, or of their descendants. In France, from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, every province, in a spiritual sense, was rent to pieces: the hierarchy and the clergy were not free from the infection; and even few cloisters continued totally undisturbed. With the exceptions of England and

Scandinavia, however, the imperial and royal families were Catholic, as also more than one of the ducal houses, not to mention many districts among the Walloons in Flanders, some counties in Ireland, the whole of the Tyrol, and parts of Switzerland. But the Popedom, after the Thirty Years' War, could count up many a re-conquest, as we now are favoured to perceive. Throughout the augmented races of Germany more than a moiety are within the fold. In France the preponderance of the orthodox soon became seventeen to one. Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania, Bavaria, Belgium, and Poland, have more or less returned to their spiritual home; three-fourths of Ireland are once again Catholic, a third of Switzerland, and almost half Holland. In Central and South America, the Spanish and Portuguese missions won another world for the Church of Almighty God; whilst Canada and Maryland, Louisiana and the Floridas, Newfoundland, Cuba, Hispaniola, and some other of the West Indies, extended the limits of Christendom. Hindoostan, Japan, and China, Ceylon, and the Manillas, rapidly augmented the muster-roll of foreign stations; and if some of them have ceased to be productive, fresh prospects, on a far nobler scale, are opening amidst the British colonies of Australia, and the revival of religion throughout the United States, for the best interests of Catholicity. As an approximate conjecture, there were probably about the middle of the sixteenth century quite as many Protestants as Catholics: there are now thrice as many of the latter as of the former, literally spread over the face of the habitable globe; so that the sun never sets upon those sacred altars, upon which the Blood of the Lamb is offered, as an early, daily, and adorable sacrifice, for the sins of all mankind.

Louis XIV. was in his minority when the treaty of Westphalia pacified the largest portion of Europe. So contagious are the elements of insurrection, that the apparent success of the Great Rebellion in England generated immense sympathy with its general principles in France. Cardinal De Retz, the rival of Mazarin, took advantage of this circumstance, and found a convenient instrument for his ambition in the Parliament of Paris. The populace

supported this body against the court and the queen mother, Anne of Austria. Tumults and civil dissensions soon embroiled the entire kingdom. Condé called in the Spaniards; yet in the end Mazarin triumphed; chiefly through the gallantry of Turenne, who maintained him afterwards in office, by a series of military successes, such as have seldom failed to dazzle the French nation. The Peace of the Pyrenees, A.D. 1659, at length composed the differences between the two powers on either side of them. The policy of Mazarin had always been to procure for the House of Bourbon an eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy; it was now arranged that his young sovereign should marry the infanta; that every pretension to Alsace should be renounced by her family; that the Catalans should be pardoned by Philip, and Condé by Louis; and that the long-disputed heirship of Juliers should be decided in favour of the Duke of Neuburgh. In little more than a year afterwards the great Cardinal minister died, leaving the reins of government for the royal hands to guide, just as they were beginning to get very impatient for their possession. Louis XIV., in fact, now commenced his career; a splendid one as to mere externals; but in reality preparing for his people and their posterity the terrible retribution of a later day. In the German empire, Leopold received the diadem on the death of his father, Ferdinand III., A.D. 1657. His earliest measure was the completion of an alliance with Poland and Denmark, as against Sweden. Christina, only child of the great Gustavus Adolphus, having embraced Catholicism, had resigned her sceptre to Charles X., her cousin: her residence in France, however, was rendered impossible, through her assassination of Monaldeschi, a favourite chamberlain, in the gallery of the Stags at Fontainbleau, A.D. 1657; and the subsequent treaty of Oliva, after the decease of Charles, left the Scandinavian kingdoms pretty much as they were at the Peace of Westphalia. Sweden still looked towards Paris as the pole-star to direct the course of her own policy, until the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands brought about the famous Triple Alliance, A.D. 1668, achieved by Sir William Temple between England, Holland, and the Regency

at Stockholm. The arrangement at Aix-la-Chapelle ensued, serving as a stepping-stone for what Louis had most at heart, the extension of his garrisons into the Low Countries. By this time the decline of Spain had become so palpable, that not only Portugal obtained from her a complete recognition of her independence, but that alarm began to be excited, and generally acknowledged, for which occasion had been given on the death of Philip IV., in A.D. 1665, when Charles II., a sickly infant, succeeded; whilst Louis, whose queen was the offspring of a prior marriage, laid claim to Brabant at once, with ulterior views, involving a realisation of what Mazarin had always projected. There existed peculiar customs of inheritance among some provinces of the Netherlands, which afforded colourable pretexts as to the grounds which France had already taken; nor was it likely that her aspiring sovereign would rest satisfied with merely a morsel of his prey. Colbert had the charge of his finances, and was bringing them into a high state of efficiency. At the commencement of his administration, the expenditure had exceeded the revenues by nine millions of livres, although the naval forces had been annihilated to spare the exchequer. That enterprising financier soon reversed the order of things. He raised the receipts of the treasury to 117,000,000 livres per annum, allowing twenty-seven or eight to the silver mark. Extraordinaries being included, he subsequently quadrupled this enormous annual amount, enabling his master to carry on two expensive wars before his removal, A.D. 1683, besides maintaining a hundred line-of-battle ships, and founding or protecting the national manufactures. Such, as an acute observer remarks, were the astonishing powers of the French empire, with its numerous population, its ancient cultivation, its fine climate, its fertile soil, and its peculiar taste and intelligence. The court encouraged refinement to the uttermost: as to literature, it would fain have revived the age of Pericles and Augustus.

The more immediate object of attraction with Louis was undoubtedly Holland. Its arrogant merchants touched his pride and aroused his cupidity. Of all the constitutions formed by statesmen, or described in history, according to

Archdeacon Coxe, none was so complicated or embarrassed in its operations as that of the Seven United Provinces. They did not so much form one republic, as a confederation of several; nor was each a distinct commonwealth in itself, but rather a municipal alliance of such orders, cities, and towns as enjoyed the right of sending deputies to a particular assembly of the provincial states. Nor were these last aught else than the mere representatives of a sovereign power, conjointly nominating a certain number of delegates, who were the States General, dignified with the title of High Mightinesses; but who could neither enact laws, declare war, make peace, impose taxes, form leagues, nor raise fleets or armies, without the consent of the respective provinces, to whom all matters of importance were continually referred. The greffier or secretary was the principal minister, and the grand pensionary of Holland the most influential officer, having to watch over the laws and liberties of the republic, and representing that particular province which paid more than half the public imposts that were levied. The defects of this many-headed monster of a government, comprising as many masters as there were minds, could alone be remedied by the stadtholder, or captain-general and lord high-admiral of the Dutch forces by sea or land. His prerogatives were extensive and formidable, constituting him the real executive of the whole people; and the office was uniformly conferred, whenever permitted to exist at all, on the princes of the house of Orange, from the date of the revolution. Five out of the seven provinces elected William I.; Friesland and Groningen preferring his cousin John Count of Nassau Dillenburgh. The stadtholdership of the former was continued in the descendants of William; namely, Maurice, Henry Frederick, and William II.; on whose demise, in A.D. 1650, the office was abolished by the Republican faction; but was restored, on the invasion of Louis XIV., to the son of the last prince, William III., afterwards king of England, and declared hereditary in his line. The manners of the people had been till then decidedly simple and republican; formed somewhat upon the Swiss model. John de Witt, who really managed the commonwealth, and al-

horred the house of Orange, lived like a private citizen. The great admiral De Ruyter was never seen in a carriage; but was observed, on his return home from a naval victory, to carry his own portmanteau from the flagship to his modest residence. The military spirit nevertheless had declined rather than otherwise, from the overwhelming prevalence of the commercial one. Immense riches soon engendered a pride of their own, founded, too, upon a thoroughly vile basis. There grew up an oligarchy of families, whose names were not always linked with the glorious struggles for liberty in bygone days; but whose influence rested upon the hoards of golden gilders, or the ingots gathered from the Brazils and the Spice islands. The colonies and commerce of Portugal, when that kingdom got annexed to Spain, had passed into the hands of Holland; so that Amsterdam or the Hague could vie with Lisbon in the amount of tonnage that floated between the Texel and India, or the Oriental opulence and luxury which gradually corrupted their marts and merchants. The Prince of Orange enjoyed a private fortune of 50,000*l.* sterling a-year, besides his official emoluments, and the handsome civil list, into which he came, as the island monarch of three kingdoms, during the final and most important period of his life. He considered himself born to counteract the ambition of Louis XIV.; and it cannot be denied but that the stadtholder was amongst his ablest antagonists.

A peal of thunder from a cloudless sky, said Sir William Temple, could scarcely have occasioned greater terror than the irruption of the French armies into the United Provinces, A.D. 1672. Sweden had been detached from the Triple Alliance. Charles II. of England had been bought over, after shutting up his own exchequer, the Cabal carrying all before them, and failing in an atrocious effort to entrap the Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna with property valued at two millions sterling. Affectedly frightened as our own countrymen then appeared to be at the growing preponderance of France, they were not inwardly sorry at the humiliation of their commercial and naval competitor. *The Bishop* of Munster and the Elector of

Cologne joined in the attack; whilst Louis, at the head of fourscore thousand men, within four weeks had conquered above forty strong cities, including Gueldres, Overyssel, and Utrecht; nor was he now far from Amsterdam. The sea-fight in May, near Southwold, at least illustrated the personal valour of the Duke of York, and helped at the same time to weaken Holland. By land, Louis and Turenne crossed the Rhine, took Arnheim, and before midsummer had thrown the United Provinces into confusion. Their various populaces attributed their disasters to the De Witts, for the grand pensionary had a brother: both were literally torn in pieces by the self-styled lovers of liberty. William was regularly installed in his high but most perilous office: the sluices were every where opened, so as to lay entire districts under water; it was resolved that, sooner than submit to the invader, the gallant republicans should abandon their native sand-banks, and embark for some of their eastern possessions; and although they lost nearly every battle, despair only heightened their courage. On the waves their admirals still engaged with wonderful steadiness and intrepidity against the British squadrons. Immediate triumph seemed the lot of neither party; except that when peace ensued, England culminated, and Holland, from her exhaustion, waned. Not that her rulers then acknowledged it; for their prince had retaken Naerden, and joined the imperialists, under Montecuculi, before Bonne; but in the separate pacification concluded with Charles, A.D. 1674, the honour of the flag was relinquished for ever by the Dutch; new regulations of trade were adjusted, and they agreed to pay to his majesty above 200,000*l.* towards the expenses of the war. Notwithstanding this defection of an ally, France renewed the vigour of her exertions. Three armies were in the field on the frontiers of Germany, Flanders, and Rousillon,—for Spain had now espoused the republicans; whilst with a fourth Louis eagerly entered Franche Comté, and subdued the whole province. Besançon held out three weeks, and then capitulated. William had during the campaign encountered the great Condé, without being actually beaten; a circumstance considered equivalent to a victory, in any

other instance. The French were in fact driven out of the Seven States altogether; their disgraces being only retrieved by the rapid progress of Turenne in overrunning and devastating the Palatinate. His death followed upon some masterly passages of war between himself and Montecuculi, by a cannon-ball, on the 27th of July, A.D. 1675. Condé assumed his command, and contrived to preserve Alsace; but Treves and Philipsburg fell the following year; when, since England had withdrawn from the contest, men were filled with amazement at the marvellous apparition of France as a maritime power. Her fleets actually defeated the Spanish and Dutch off Palermo. Twelve capital ships were sunk, burnt, or captured; four thousand sailors lost their lives. The admirals of Louis, who had entered the Sicilian seas to support a revolt of Messina, now rode undisputed masters of the Mediterranean. Meanwhile William had failed before Maestricht. Valenciennes was carried by surprise, under the judicious advice of Vauban; Courtray surrendered after a short siege; and before St. Omers followed its example the Prince of Orange was again severely beaten by the Dukes of Orleans and Luxembourg. Charles II. still stood aloof from the fray, bribed by the grand monarch; for which his two houses of parliament afforded him but too good an opportunity, since they were bickering about their own privileges, when, by united action and prudence, they might have coerced their sovereign into foreign measures which would have rendered England the arbitress of Europe. At length the Commons did make some attempts to rouse the king from his voluptuous lethargy, and the latter was base enough to try and win back some of his early popularity through an assumed anxiety for preserving a Protestant succession. The poor papists, with his own brother at their head, were thrown overboard, to amuse, or at least gratify, the popular whale. James had to sanction the marriage of his eldest daughter, the princess Mary, with the Dutch stadtholder: fresh persecutions arose out of the national bigotry against Catholics of every grade; even the pretended patriots, such as Algernon Sydney and his *compeers*, guilty as they equally were

with their own master, whom they professed to denounce, in receiving foreign money through the Parisian ambassador, joined in the cowardly cry against popery; and that, too, without affording any effectual assistance in checking the ambition of France. Louis XIV. managed either to outwit or overawe each of his opponents at Nimeguen, A.D. 1678; where he was allowed by treaty to retain Franche Comté, as well as the barrier towns of Flanders. His vast realms wanted repose, and they procured it. But he had extended his frontiers on all sides; given law to Spain, Holland, and the German empire; and had placed himself in a good position for realising, whenever opportunity might offer, his views for a yet more expansive aggrandisement.

The next ten years sufficiently manifested these intentions. He supported an enormous army, upon a scale and in a state of efficiency far beyond the requirements of a peace-establishment. He set up chambers of re-union at Metz and Brisac, the operation of which would enlarge his influence in Lorraine. Strasburg was seized; Casal, the capital of Montferrat, was occupied; the fortress of Huningen, near Basle, was erected as a curb upon the Swiss cantons; Luxemburg was bombarded, as if there existed an avowed war: at sea, he insisted upon Spain always saluting the flag of France; he maintained afloat one hundred sail of the line, with sixty thousand sailors and marines; Toulon and Brest were made the arsenals of their respective waters; Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with vessels, and Rochefort was converted into a convenient harbour, in spite of nature. He cleared, however, the Mediterranean from the corsairs of Barbary; severely yet justly chastised Algiers twice, and brought both Tunis and Tripoli to very humiliating terms. Strange to say, Genoa was served in the same way, on a heavy charge of having sold ammunition to the Algerines, and built some galleys for the Spaniards. But just as Kehl and Luxemburg came into his possession, through negotiations consequent upon his violent procedures, the great financier Colbert *died*, whose genius and sagacity had furnished him with *the* sinews of strength. The Edict of Nantes, considered

by his Protestant subjects as their Magna Charta, was repealed soon afterwards, contrary to the counsels of the court of Rome, to whom Louis had displayed his vanity and appetite for dominion in any thing but a favourable light. An illustrious line of pontiffs had filled the chair of St. Peter from the age of St. Pius and the Council of Trent to the reign of Innocent XII. Their wisdom and moderation had done much towards healing the wounds of Christendom, as well as consolidating the ecclesiastical states. Under Barberini or Urban VIII. the dukedom of Urbino had escheated to the papacy; and through the exertions of Panfili or Innocent X., Castro and Ronciglione were added by conquest, A.D. 1636-9. Odeschalchi, or Innocent XI., governed with great ability. He skilfully disentangled the exchequer of the Church from its financial disorders; and although so many sources of revenue had dried up, from the prevalence of heresy, he not only paid off enormous debts, but left at his decease no less than two millions of scudi in the apostolic treasury. This was the father of the faithful whom Louis XIV. thought proper to insult and bully; although it is remarkable that his fortunes declined ever afterwards. In spiritual concerns, a contest about that phantom of folly called the Gallican Liberties, was pushed as far as it possibly could be without plunging the entire kingdom into the abyss of schism; in temporal matters, some absurd privileges of asylum, which both the emperor and Spain had cheerfully waved, to assist his Holiness in maintaining the civil order of his metropolis, were clung to with an obstinate pertinacity on the part of France, for no other palpable purpose than an assertion of vain-glory. It was the final assault upon the dignity of sovereigns which he was permitted to perpetrate with impunity.

Leopold, until the present year, had been too much engaged with the Turks to turn his full attention westward. Their perpetual interference with Hungary had led him into an alliance with the celebrated John Sobieski, king of Poland; who nobly rushed to his assistance, when his territories were invaded by an Ottoman army, and his capital abandoned, A.D. 1683. The siege of Vienna was

raised with immense losses on the side of the invaders; yet the struggle still went on; until the Hungarian throne having been declared hereditary, Buda being recovered after an obstinate resistance, and a victory gained over the Crescent at Mohatz, the emperor happily resolved to join the confederacy of Augsburg, A.D. 1688, formed between Germany, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy. Its simple object was to clip the wings of Louis XIV. He had done his utmost to secure the electorate of Cologne for the Cardinal Fürstenberg, an ecclesiastic devoted to the house of Bourbon. The Duchess of Orleans also had advanced her pretensions to the Palatinate, as sole sister to Charles, the grandson of the titular king of Bohemia, and the last of that direct line; and in her name, as the Princess Charlotte Elizabeth of Simmern, second consort to his brother Philip Duke of Orleans, Louis, although her claims were expressly renounced in her marriage articles, once more ravaged the Palatinate with fire and sword. There remained, therefore, nothing else to be *done, but* to accept the Papal benediction on their league against a common enemy, and obtain the concurrence of England. The Revolution, which enthroned the Prince of Orange as William III., happened about two months after hostilities had commenced in earnest on the banks of the Rhine.

Our country at this momentous period was growing in greatness, as shown in a previous chapter. Internal wealth and material prosperity had made rapid strides. Sir Josiah Child demonstrates that, on the abdication of James II., there were more individuals on Change worth 10,000*l.* than there were forty years before worth 1000*l.* Her shipping had more than doubled in twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were introduced in iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, and paper. A brewer brought from the Netherlands the art of dyeing woollen cloths; Buckingham had introduced from Venice the mode of preparing mirrors and crystals; Prince Rupert had rendered etching fashionable. The increase of the coinage subsequent to the Restoration was ten millions and a quarter sterling. The Board of Trade originated in A.D. 1670, with Sandwich for its president. It was calculated, however, that 500*l.* would

go further under Oliver Cromwell than four times that amount after the Revolution; and that serge gowns, thought quite good enough for gentlewomen then, were despised by chambermaids afterwards: although in a statement of this kind there must be much allowance made for the puritanical gravity and plainness of the Protectorate. The comparison, indeed, of the two eras is almost that of owls with peacocks; but that every sort of property, luxury, and refinement had immensely increased is clear. The people, therefore, blinded by bigotry, and aroused to a real sense of danger, warmly supported their newly-elected sovereign in joining the League of Augsburg, and declaring war against France. James had been received there with open arms; and the desolations of the Protestant Palatinate, taken in unfair connection with the former circumstance, seemed to furnish William with the most popular grounds he could wish for, in appealing to the two Houses. Scotland and Ireland were the tender points with which Parliament had at home to deal. An Act of Toleration manifested the disposition of William to treat all Protestants alike, however hardly both he and they intended to press upon the Catholic Church; yet, notwithstanding the imagined liberty of private judgment, the sects were so far from agreeing among themselves to dwell peaceably together, that even in England Episcopacy looked down upon Dissent, and beyond the Tweed felt ready to join the Jacobites rather than quietly acquiesce in the establishment of Presbyterianism. Across the Irish Channel the prospect was still more overclouded. There the majority held fast by the ancient faith, under the Earl of Tyrconnel, their lord-lieutenant, whose firmness enabled the royal exile to make a gallant stroke for his crown; although, as the result showed, it was lost to the Stuarts for ever. The Protestants threw themselves into Londonderry, and other strong places, before James landed in Ireland, to secure, if possible, its independence, supported by French reinforcements. The Battle of the Boyne, 1st July, A.D. 1690, finally crushed every project of the kind; and, after fruitless bloodshed at Cork, Kinsale, Athlone, and Aghrim, the treaty of Limerick riveted the bitter chain of subjugation

for 140 years. In Scotland no better success had attended Lord Dundee and his brave Highlanders. They gained, indeed, a nominal and glorious victory at Killicranky; but the death of their leader on the field, and the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, effected their ultimate dispersion; whilst the barbarous massacre of Glencoe shocked every civilised state in Europe, standing out, as it did, in the horrors of dark and deep relief, in the same category with the atrocities which Louis XIV. had inflicted upon Heidelburg, Spires, Frankenthal, Worms, and their adjacent regions. The latter monarch already began to taste the cup of merited humiliation. His troops were defeated at Wallcourt by the Prince of Waldeck; and his allies, the Turks, were routed in three engagements by the Imperialists, under the Prince of Baden. The Duke of Luxemburg, indeed, beat the Dutch at Fleurus; the Ottomans gained some ground in Hungary; and off Beachy Head, A.D. 1690, he vanquished at sea the combined fleets of Holland and England: but *the grand* engagement at La Hogue, in which Admiral *Russell* restored our naval supremacy, May A.D. 1692, annihilated the hopes of James, and scattered to the winds the expectations of his patron. The capture of Namur, and the triumph of the French at Steinkirk, seemed but as flashes in the firmament; for neither the success of Luxemburg at Neerwinder in Flanders, nor that of Catinat at Marsaglia in Piedmont, nor the losses inflicted upon the Smyrna convoy of the allies in the Mediterranean, afforded an equivalent for the miseries of a famine which scourged every province of France, and rendered less easy to bear her military reverses on the Sombre and Maese, A.D. 1695. At last, the exhaustion and miseries of so many nations brought about the congress and pacification of Ryswick, A.D. 1697; just as the Duke of Vendome, by taking Barcelona, had induced Spain to receive almost any fair proposals for an adjustment with her ambitious neighbours. The court of Madrid thereby recovered nearly every thing it had lost. William III. was acknowledged the lawful sovereign of his three kingdoms; the emperor was satisfied with Freybourg, Brisac, and Philipsbourg; the duchies of

Lorraine and Bar were restored to his relative, their native prince; Louis yielded Luxemburg, Chiney, Charlerois, Mons, Aeth, and Contray: but Charles II. of Spain was rapidly declining; and although the renunciation of all claim to that splendid succession had been one main object of the war, there was now no mention made of it in the articles of peace! This was the principal point with the Grand Monarque; and having obtained that omission, his worldly wisdom and insatiable acquisitiveness were willing to wait until the prize should drop. In another quarter of Europe, the subsequent battle of Zenta, in which Prince Eugene destroyed a numerous Ottoman host, under the Sultan Mustapha II., accelerated the decline of the Crescent; so that tranquillity was established through the Treaty of Carlowitz, January A.D. 1699; whereby Hungary to the district of Temeswar, with Transylvania and Sclavonia, were ceded to the house of Austria; and the Venetian Republic left in full possession of the Morea, the Island of Egina near Athens, and several places on the coast, which Francesco Morosini had conquered. William III. negotiated these important affairs, having now risen to almost the highest secular position in Europe.

James, the abdicated or deposed king of England, died in exile at St. Germains, 5th September A.D. 1701; the feeble Spanish monarch a few days more than ten months previously; and William in the following spring, A.D. 1702. Before, however, these historical personages were removed from the scene, all the necessary combustibles for a furious conflagration had been carefully drawn together. The competitors for the Spanish succession were Louis, Leopold, and the Elector of Bavaria. The two first were grandsons of the grandfather of Charles; their heirs, the Dauphin, and Joseph king of the Romans, had each a double claim, for their mothers were daughters of Philip IV. and sisters to the childless sovereign of Spain. The right of birth was in the Bourbons, as being descended from the eldest daughters; but the emperor pleaded a male representation through Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria. The elector claimed as the husband of an archduchess, whose maternal pretension

came through the Infanta Margaret Theresa, empress to Leopold, the younger daughter of Philip IV. it is true, but whose father had declared her descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to the issue of his eldest daughter, the Queen of France; an arrangement, moreover, sanctioned by European treaties, by the general interests connected with the balance of power, and the solemn renunciation made by Louis on his marriage at the peace of the Pyrenees. Yet the silence upon this important matter at Ryswick, together with the general exhaustion consequent upon a long war, killed suspicion; and in A.D. 1698, England, France, and Holland, attempted a premature adjustment of the future, by settling among themselves that, on the demise of Charles, Spain, the American Indies, and the Netherlands, should go to Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, the Tuscan sea-ports, the marquisate of Final, the kingdom of Navarre, and three lordships of Guiposcoa, Alava, and Biscay, to the Dauphin; and the duchy of Milan to the Archduke Charles, second son of Leopold. The court of Madrid felt their national honour exceedingly wounded by these procedures; Charles II. himself, on the verge of the grave as he then thought, resolving to baffle them by constituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his sole heir, according to the testamentary disposition of his father, Philip IV. William had no objection to such an arrangement, but quite the reverse; when the sudden removal of the young Bavarian prince, possibly by poison, revived the old anxieties. France, England, and Holland therefore negotiated a second partition treaty, providing that Spain and the Indies should descend to the Archduke Charles; that the share of the Dauphin should be nearly the same as before, and that the Duke of Lorraine, ceding his native territories to the son of Louis, should enjoy the Milanese dukedom. It was further settled, that the Spanish succession was never to be united either with France or the empire. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which it was attempted to veil these matters, the truth exhaled both at Madrid and Vienna; nor were British statesmen, especially those of the opposition, satisfied with the respective assignments. Cardinal Portocarrero advised the now really

lying monarch to consult the Pope; which he did, as an obedient and faithful member of the Church. His Holiness Innocent XII. decided for the Bourbons, according to the laws of Spain, and the welfare of Christendom. His Catholic Majesty, in pursuance of such sound direction from the highest quarter, made a new will, whereby, annulling the French renunciations, he named Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, as sole heir to his dominions. William was at this time absorbed in fixing the Hanoverian succession to his own kingdoms, since the last male heir in the Protestant line had expired in the person of the late Duke of Gloucester. When the royal testator at Madrid at length closed his eyes on the festival of All Saints, A.D. 1700, Louis not merely enthroned his grandson as Philip V., with the sanction of the hierarchy and clergy, the approval of the Spanish grandees, and the apparent consent of the nation; but he also, through the pressure of his somewhat decisive and even coercive measures in Flanders, obtained a distinct recognition of what he had done from the cabinets at the Hague and in London. Leopold alone held back, claiming at least Milan, as an escheated fief, although in vain. It was the acknowledgment by Louis of James III. as sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, in the place of his deceased father, which led to the energetic development of the grand alliance which had already been formed between the empire, the three kingdoms of William, and his native republic. The avowed object at first was merely to detach the Italian dominions, with the American colonies, from the Spanish inheritance, in favour of the emperor and maritime powers, as also to consolidate a sufficient barrier for Holland; but the league was subsequently strengthened by the addition of Prussia, recently erected into a monarchy; by all the German circles; by Portugal, in consideration of subsidies, and promised aggrandisement at the expense of her neighbour; and finally, by the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., 25th October A.D. 1703. The archduke was now openly proclaimed as Charles III. of Spain, and acknowledged as such, in opposition to Philip V., in Aragon, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and by many *of the nobles.*

The hostilities which ensued exceeded those that any of the commanders or statesmen of Christendom had known since the Thirty Years' War. In Holland the death of William made no difference as to the line of policy espoused, nor in England. Queen Anne, for the first years of her reign, remained in the hands of a Whig ministry, among whose members Godolphin managed the finances, and Marlborough wielded the sword. This hero had once been a humble hanger-on to the household of the prince and princess of Denmark, after meanly deserting James, and demonstrating, in every period of his life, how possible it is for a golden head to be set over a breast and arms of silver, a body and thighs of brass, legs of iron, with feet partly of that strong metal and partly of clay, like the image seen in the vision of Nabuchodonosor. The lower we descend in exploring his character, the baser its materials appear. His masterly movements and rapid progress in Flanders must have astonished the French, so accustomed as they had *hitherto* been to a series of victories. By sea, the allies *failed at* Cadiz, but captured some galleons, and destroyed a squadron on which Louis had reckoned for success in the harbour of Vigo. The battle of Blenheim was fought on the 13th of August A.D. 1704, in which thirty thousand of the enemy were slain, wounded, or taken. Leopold thereby avenged himself on the whole electorate of Bavaria, from the Danube to the Rhine; and though less triumphant in Spain and the Italian territories, yet the English took Gibraltar, and humiliated their antagonists in a severe naval contest near Malaga.

In A.D. 1706 the victory of Ramilies laid the Netherlands prostrate before Marlborough. Eugene attacked with irresistible vigour the French lines before Turin; the siege of Barcelona was raised by the eccentric Earl of Peterborough; Madrid was won and lost by the British and Portuguese; Sir John Leake secured Majorca and Minorca; and in the next campaign, after seemingly fair concessions on the part of Louis had been contemptuously refused, the confederates made themselves masters of Milan, Modena, and all the Spanish possessions in Italy. But in Spain itself the genius of the Duke of Berwick retrieved

the honours of France, through his splendid achievements on the field of Almanza, which recovered for Philip the kingdom and capital of Valencia; and cheered for a brief interval the despondency of the court at Paris. They had there been driven to such straits, that the king sold a gorgeous service of plate for 400,000 francs, besides issuing bills upon the Mint, which could only be discounted at fifty per cent. Marshal Villars had entered Germany, and laid Wirtemberg under contribution. Eugene and the Duke of Savoy were baffled in an attempt upon Toulon; and some revirescence of Toryism in the shallow principles of Queen Anne, agitated by these circumstances abroad, and easily affected at home through the intrigues of Harley against the Duke of Marlborough, prompted Louis XIV. to promote the aspirations of the Chevalier St. George, commonly called the Pretender. The idea of invasion only roused England the more; and Marlborough, crossing the Scheld, came off victorious in the sanguinary engagement of Oudenarde, July 11, A.D. 1708; followed as that was by the reduction of Lisle, Ghent, and Bruges. Sir John Leake now took the island of Sardinia; and the emperor Joseph, who had succeeded his father Leopold three years before, overran the pontifical states. Again the humbled Bourbons offered advantageous terms of peace, which were haughtily rejected, it has been said, from the avarice of the British conqueror, whose emoluments during the continuance of the war amounted to 40,000*l.* per annum. The breath, moreover, of a Whig administration depended at that moment upon the sound of the trumpet, to keep awake the national enthusiasm. So Marlborough and Eugene captured Tournay and assaulted Mons, surrendered as it was after the affair of Malplaquet, and its hideous carnage, Sept. 11, A.D. 1709. But the imperialists were defeated in Upper Alsace, and the English and Portuguese in Spain. Now came the negotiations at Gertruydenburg and the Hague, with the insolent demands of the States-General. Louis was quite willing to give up the pretensions of his family to the Spanish monarchy, to relinquish even Alsace to the emperor, and the fortified towns of Flanders. Yet the *grand pensionary* Heinsius insisted that he should

assist in dethroning his own grandson with his own forces; which seemed an insult, not only to France, but to human nature. Louis recoiled from the proposition; and his noble perseverance in adversity reaped its reward. The allies slighted every opportunity for making peace, because their individual and personal interests pointed the other way: nor had these islands seen the horrors of the contention, except at a distance. Within no very remote period the King of France concluded an arrangement which he would have previously deemed beyond reasonable expectation. Hostilities, however, still proceeded for the present, and unfavourably for the French; although Villars and Boufflers defended their frontiers with the spirit of old Gaul invigorated by modern science.

Across the Pyrenees also the scene was changing. Stanhope and Staremburg had beaten their opponents at Almenara and Saragossa; but Vendôme, who had the eye of a general in the brow of a cynic, who would swim a river in his course with his sword between his teeth—an unclean combination of the philosopher and the warrior, had outwitted Stanhope and his detachment, and compelled them to surrender at Brihuega. His colleague Staremburg, in hastening too late to his assistance, had to fight single-handed the battle of Villa Viciosa, 10th December A.D. 1710. Philip V., in person, broke the left wing of his overmatched adversaries; while so firmly stood the British centre and right-flank, that Vendôme, with his own centre forced back, had to yield the ground at night-fall, although conscious that the next morning, with common prudence, must afford him at least the fruits, if not the flowers of victory. Such proved to be the case.

The star of Austria waned away from regions for which it was not suited; it also happened that the wheel of political revolution had strangely turned in that cabinet whence proceeded the entire vitality of the struggle. The quarrels of a few ladies at the court of Queen Anne had overthrown the Whigs, and were about to displace Marlborough. In the spring of A.D. 1711, by the decease of Joseph I. without issue, his brother the archduke became Emperor of Germany, as Charles VI. Nor could it consort

with the views of the maritime powers, that, in conjunction with the imperial diadem and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, he should also wear that of Spain and the Indies. The brave Marshal Villars gained the last engagement that was fought at Denain, July A.D. 1712; and the pacification, signed at Utrecht in the ensuing summer, stipulated that the thrones of France and Spain should never be filled by the same sovereign; that Philip V. should be acknowledged as lawful monarch of the latter kingdom, with the American colonies; that in Italy, Milan, Mantua, Naples, and Sardinia should be ceded to the emperor, together with the Netherlands; that the Duke of Savoy should have Sicily with the regal title; that Portugal should possess both banks of the Maranon in South America; that Prussia, acknowledged as a kingdom, should receive the upper quarter of Guelderland—(a bone of contention as ancient as the age of Charles V.),—with the canton of Neufchatel and Valengin, in exchange for Orange and Chalons, handed over to France; and that the last-mentioned monarchy should retain the Rhine for her boundary towards the empire, with the restoration of Lisle, and all other frontier cities which she had lost. The Hanoverian succession was recognised. England acquired little else than Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay, with a disgraceful share in the Assiento, or slave-trade. These were her chief laurels, after so much effusion of blood, patriotism, and treasure; involving a duplication of her annual expenditure, which had risen from three to seven millions sterling during the war, and a national debt of 52,000,000*l.*! So badly had matters been managed, that the interest paid upon this principal in A.D. 1714 was no less than 3,300,000*l.* per annum. The negotiations at Rastadt and Baden, concluded between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars, gave France Landau, with several fortresses behind the Rhine; reinstating, moreover, in their full dignity and dominions the electors of Cologne and Bavaria; the latter potentate consenting to relinquish Sardinia to the emperor, which island had been assigned him at Utrecht, and to accept in exchange the Upper Pala-

tinate. A ninth electorate had been formed in favour of the Duke of Hanover.

These arrangements were scarcely completed when Queen Anne and Louis XIV. died; the new Hanoverian elector succeeding the former, as George I., in August A.D. 1714; and the regency of the Duke of Orleans commencing thirteen months afterwards. Toryism had been in the ascendant at the court of St. James, after the fall of Godolphin and his associates, A.D. 1710; nor had Harley and Bolingbroke much difficulty in alluring their royal mistress to sanction, at least indirectly, the schemes of the Jacobites for restoring the Stuarts to their inheritance. Before her decease Bolingbroke had displaced his colleague altogether, and the entire conspiracy appeared ripe for its accomplishment. But circumstances turned out otherwise. The house of Brunswick ascended their British throne with as slight a political earthquake as could have been expected; the Whigs came back to office like wasps to a hive, and revelled in its honey with little interruption for nearly half a century. An effort was made for the Chevalier St. George by the Highlanders under Lord Mar, and some rather rash north-country English, under Lord Derwentwater, with several other noblemen and gentlemen, whose ruin at Sheriff-Muir and Preston cost the heads of a few and the estates of many, besides those hundreds put to the sword in the military conflicts. The interests of the French regent chiefly lay in keeping up an amicable sympathy with the ministry in London, for his accession to power had been in defiance of the will of the late monarch; and if Louis XV., a weakly minor, were removed, his own claims to the crown would be disputed by Philip V. of Spain. His hopes, therefore, rested upon the spirit of the stipulations at Utrecht. Meanwhile the Turks had infringed upon many of the arrangements made at Carlowitz, and fought the dreadful fields near Peterwaradin and Belgrade, A.D. 1717. Eugene immortalised his prowess in this campaign, which led, the next year, to the Peace of Passarowitz. Venice, as it had been deeply involved in the strife, was now the scapegoat between the

more able combatants. She lost the Morea for ever, having to surrender it to Turkey; in consideration of which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade, the Bannat, with part of Servia and Wallachia, and the entire Temeswar. The Regent Orleans would have looked sufficiently askance at whatever might aggrandise Austria; but just at this juncture his perils were on the side of the Pyrenees. Philip V. had married Elizabeth of Parma, whose maternal affection for her children brought forward her favourite, the famous Cardinal Alberoni. He was a man of low birth, elevated to one of the most conspicuous positions in Europe through a series of fortunate accidents. His patroness and countrywoman, Elizabeth, made him minister to her doting consort, for whom he formed a plot to obtain the administration of France. Its discovery produced the Quadruple Alliance between Orleans, Holland, Great Britain, and the empire; these confederates determining that the Duke of Savoy should exchange with Charles VI. Sicily for Sardinia, of which, with certain Italian concessions, he should have the regal title; and that Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the demise of their present possessors without issue, should be conferred on Don Carlos, the son of the young Queen of Spain. Alberoni had also intrigued the previous year with Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great to overthrow the house of Hanover in England; so that both George I. and the French regent were united in insisting on the immediate dismissal of the turbulent cardinal. Their countries respectively now plunged into the attractive embarrassments of the Mississippi scheme and the South-Sea bubble. The Duke of Orleans died in December A.D. 1723, soon after another abortive endeavour, on the part of Bishop Atterbury, to place the insular sceptre in the hands of the Pretender. The Duke of Bourbon became regent at Paris; when, within about three years, the helm of state passed under the control of Cardinal Fleury. Seventy-four winters had chilled neither the ambition nor the abilities of this eminent ecclesiastic,—for such was his advanced age at the time. His pacific influences, together with those of Sir Robert *Walpole, procured* and maintained during a some-

what protracted period the tranquillity of the continent. The harmless treaties of Vienna, Herenhausen, and Seville, A.D. 1725-7, occupied the latter years of our first German sovereign, whose son and heir, George II., began his reign on the 11th of July A.D. 1727. It required tact to take any important position as to foreign politics, and nevertheless keep clear of their entanglements. Some time before, it had been settled that the Spanish Infanta should be married to Louis XV.; but this young princess, yet in her minority, was sent back from Paris soon after the death of the regent, because the Duke of Bourbon, wishing to give his youthful sovereign a consort at once, had espoused for him Maria, the daughter of Stanislaus Lescinski, the ex-king of Poland. Spain, therefore, taking offence at what was conceived to be an insult, reconciled herself with Austria; an alliance of brief duration. She had never forgotten or forgiven the severance of Milan, Naples, and Sicily; whilst, on the side of the empire, Joseph I. had bearded Clement XI. and thrown the pontifical court *altogether* into the scale of France and Spain, before death had closed the career of Louis XIV. When Victor Amadeus, who had coquetted with almost every European power to serve his own purposes, had got Sicily, Clement had cause for very serious sorrow at the hollowness and frowardness with which he ventured to treat the Church; for that kingdom had been from a remote era the seat of a *Legatus a latere* united to the crown, but derived of course from the apostolic chair. When the house of Savoy forsook Sicily, therefore, it afforded general satisfaction; yet the emperor proved little if at all better. Spanish sympathies again obtained universal supremacy in southern as well as central Italy. On the death of the last prince of the family of Farnese without heirs, Parma and Placentia were peacefully occupied by the ministry at Madrid on behalf of Don Carlos; Charles VI. seeming solely anxious for the establishment of his pragmatic sanction, whereby, as he had no sons, his vast and varied inheritance was to be *guaranteed* by all Christendom to his daughter Maria Theresa. In A.D. 1733, on the decease of Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had governed the Poles through the

support of the Russian czar, Stanislaus, their ex-king, was re-elected on the recommendation of his son-in-law, Louis XV. The emperor, however, and Russia immediately adopted the cause of Saxony; annulled by force of arms the choice which the diet had made, and threw the whole weight of France once more on the side of Spain. Cardinal Fleury now developed a line of action not less glorious for his own country than it promised to be beneficial to all Europe. The French, under the Duke of Berwick, reduced Lorraine; under Villars, in combination with Sardinia, they took Milan; then pushing forwards with the Spaniards, they overran Naples and Sicily. The aged Eugene, as Heeren observes, no longer held victory in chains, for the imperialists were worsted every where, and most severely before Parma and Guastalla. The Peace of Vienna, A.D. 1735-8, at length effected the following results: Austria surrendered to Spain, as a secundo-geniture never to be united to her own crown, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with Elba and the Stati degli Presidi, in favour of Don Carlos; France obtained the reversion of Lorraine and Bar, which were given to Stanislaus Lescinski, with the royal title for his life; Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards emperor and husband of Maria Theresa, procured the reversion of Tuscany, into the possession of which he came, 9th July A.D. 1737, by the death of the last of the Medici; Charles VI. acquired Parma and Placentia, as an indemnification, with a recognition of his pragmatic sanction; the King of Sardinia gained the Navarese and Tortonese districts, separated from the duchy of Milan. The administration of the cardinal lasted for seventeen years, A.D. 1726-43; and before his removal, the spread of Jansenism had already commenced that religious effervescence in the metropolis and provinces which, in connection with financial embarrassments and almost universal immorality, was preparing and accelerating the catastrophe of the Revolution. In these islands material prosperity was nursing sensualism and secret infidelity for the punishment of our national pride, and apparently incorrigible rebellion against the Church of God. Our union with Scotland had not as yet produced

its natural results, although the fairest foundation was laid for them. Spain had been no gainer in any sense by the Bourbons, nor could her golden colonies bring back the age when the shadow of her name exacted at least respect, if not admiration. Portugal had also long passed her palmy days; with princes remarkable for little else than their debauchery, under whose blind direction their seaports and foreign possessions became feeders to the commercial aggrandisement of Great Britain. Holland had undergone few internal changes since the decease of William III., which extinguished the elder branch of the house of Orange: the younger one was represented by his cousin, William Friso, hereditary Stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen only; but whose party expected that, whenever an opportunity offered, that high office would be extended as before over the entire republic of the Seven United Provinces, which afterwards happened. His son William was married to a daughter of George II. Frederick William king of Prussia was laying up treasures and forming forces for an abler head and a harder heart than his own to wield with marvellous energy and talent in the next generation. The Scandinavian, Polish, and Russian regions will fall under our survey in a subsequent chapter. Venice was growing pale in the political firmament. Victor Amadeus had resigned in favour of his son, Charles Emanuel; but repented, as it appeared, when it was too late. His realm, however, was but a star of the third magnitude; whilst Naples, the Sublime Porte, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Tuscany, with some others, were scarcely stars at all. The Ecclesiastical States of St. Peter preserved their serene and religious aspect in the centre of Italy, presided over by a succession of pious Pontiffs, illustrious for their abilities and learning, and still more for their charity and humility. The Emperor Charles VI. expired on the 20th of October A.D. 1740.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF EUROPEAN POWERS—ORIENTAL REVOLUTIONS FROM THE AGE OF TIMOUR TO THAT OF NADIR SHAH—THE ENGLISH IN INDIA—THEIR AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS.

We may take the present opportunity for a glance at the colonial system, forming, as it does, so important a feature of modern history. That colonies are of various kinds must be sufficiently obvious: some having agriculture for their main object; some the working of mines, especially those of the precious metals; some the cultivation of particular products, such as sugar, rice, cocoa, coffee, or tobacco; some the promotion of fisheries,—such as Newfoundland; some the establishment of factories, or staples for trade, which have often involved, as we shall presently see, the acquisition of enormous territories; and lastly, the noblest of all, those which have been projected or supported for religious purposes. Sometimes several of these objects are blended together. Foremost amongst the early colonising powers of Europe was Spain; for whose benefit, had she known how to use it aright, Christopher Columbus opened a pathway across the mighty waters to the novelties of the Western World. Passing over the first discoveries of St. Salvador, Hispaniola, and the other islands, our imaginations rest upon Mexico and Peru, after Bilboa had gazed from the heights of the Isthmus of Darien over the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, A.D. 1513. Humboldt has shown in his *Researches*, that the great table-land and valley of Mexico were originally called Anahuac; that an immigration into it of the Toltecs occurred about the time of Mahomet; that their monarchy terminated a few years before the date of our Norman Conquest, when, after an interval, they were succeeded by the Chechimecas, A.D. 1170, and the Six Tribes of the Nahuatlacs, A.D. 1178, and the Alcalhuans at a still subsequent period, with whom the Chechimecas coalesced. The Mexicans, or Aztecs, were the Seventh Tribe of the Nahuatlacs, who built Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, A.D. 1325.

Its capture by Cortez, A.D. 1519-21, was followed by the subdual of the Incas, commenced in A.D. 1525, and accomplished under Pizarro, A.D. 1529-35, including Chili and Quito; the subterranean wealth of Zacotecos having been first ascertained in A.D. 1532, and of Potosi in A.D. 1545. These South-American possessions constituted of themselves a splendid empire, comprising the provinces of New Spain, Peru, Terra Firma, and New Grenada. Their government was mainly modelled upon that of the sovereign country, by the constitutions of Charles V. It acknowledged a supreme authority in the Council of the Indies at Madrid; but commercial matters were regulated by a sort of Board of Control at Seville. Viceroys reigned to represent the Spanish monarch in those grand cities, which are now the capitals of independent republics. The administration of justice was limited to certain local tribunals, of which the members also served as counsellors of state to the executive. The towns enjoyed the liberty, as in Spain, of electing their own municipal officers. The harbours and sea-ports were naturally the first to take any shape of regularity and consequence; while settlements in the interior sprang up more gradually and slowly. A church was the earliest solid erection, after essential necessities had been provided in the form of a few rude habitations, with or without a small garrison, surrounded by a ditch and stockade. Upon the coasts, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, Carthagena, Valencia, and the Carraccas, with Cumana and Barcelona, looked out upon the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea; whilst Acapulco and Panama were havens on the Pacific for those treasure-ships whose cargoes effected a revolution in the prices of Europe. Lima, Conception, and Monte Video were also founded in due course; and considerable populations collected wherever mines or plantations seemed to promise profitable returns. Civilisation, with many drawbacks, was thus transplanted to a bountiful soil, where, although philanthropy had much to bewail, she might well rejoice upon the whole, inasmuch as the fresh colonists and conquerors introduced the use of iron tools, instead of wretched ones imperfectly fashioned from stones, wood, or fish-bones; and the Llama, a miserable

beast of burden, was superseded by the horse and the ox,—to say nothing of the lesser domestic and most common animals. With regard to the question of religion, there could be no comparison, when an overruling Providence mercifully made up to the Church her losses, through the ecclesiastical revolt at home, in the diffusion of Christianity abroad. The sanguinary and repulsive idolatry which met the eyes of nominally Catholic invaders rapidly disappeared before the benign influences of her more genuine children, who preached the doctrines, and practised the precepts of a gospel of love, tolerating neither impurity of life nor human sacrifices. Innumerable missions spread presently and tranquilly from valley to valley, and from the banks of one river to another, where converted Indians were gathered into villages under the superintendence of devoted priests, who instructed their people to cultivate their hearts for the Redeemer and His Blessed Mother, and their boundless plains or *pampas* for the benefit of mankind at large. Before the termination of the sixteenth century, a noble hierarchy embraced almost the whole of South America. The lower clergy were divided into *Curas* among the well-organised settlements; into *Doctrineras* amongst the Indian hamlets; and *Missioneras* among the savages. The mendicant orders then followed with their pious labours; and the Society of Jesus at a later period. Nor will the student of hagiology fail to remember, that the sweet St. Rose of Lima had already blossomed for immortality on the slopes of the snowy Andes.

Connected with Acapulco were the Manillas or Philippine Islands, taken possession of by Spain, A.D. 1564, for the especial purpose of founding missions; but between which the great galleons of the South Sea annually sailed. Her subsequent acquisition of Portugal only impaired the colonial dependencies of that crown, without benefiting her own. The Lusitanian monarchs had gained enormous opulence and prosperity through their labours for geography and commerce. The system they adopted differed widely from that of their more powerful neighbour and rival. Instead of embarking in mines or schemes of mere territorial aggrandisement, they fixed themselves firmly in the

most eligible stations, around which, by the subjugation of the native princes, they managed to attract and monopolise the traffic. Their dominion in India had Goa for its central point, governed by a regency, extending over Mozambique, Sofala, and Melinda, on the coast of Africa; Muscat and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf; Diu and Damaun in the Deccan; Cochin, with other districts, on the shores of Malabar; Negapatam and Meliapour on those of Coromandel; Malacca on the peninsula of that name, and the Spice Islands. Heeren observes, that the Portuguese trade was not monopolised by any particular company; but that it was not the less, although indirectly, a source of royal power and revenue. It professed to be open to all, from the Minho to the Algarves; but merchants were obliged to obtain and pay for a license from the government; which reserved moreover to itself several of the principal branches. The viceroys also, together with the ministry at Lisbon, had the arrangement as well as the protection of navigation. Fleets, sailing between the Tagus and India, brought home pepper, nutmegs, cottons, silks, pearls, and the lighter articles of native manufacture; for which all the world came to Portugal, and carried them away in their own vessels; thus undermining the natural spirit for an enlarged carrying traffic, which might have emulated the Italian and Flemish republics of the middle ages. Their colonies on the western coast of Africa became of little note, until the Brazils had rendered them valuable through the accursed slave-trade. Those vast regions, of which Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco were the most important settlements, had already imported the sugar-cane from Madeira. For its successful cultivation negro labour was essential; and came to be introduced and tolerated, from mistaken motives of humanity; just as occurred among the Spaniards, with regard to their mines and Indians. Handle it however we may, human avarice will be found amenable to few or no secular arrangements, being a vice which can alone be changed into a virtue by the operation of supernatural grace. Congo and Guinea therefore throve or declined, as Maranhem, Portoseguro, and St. Salvador prospered or suffered reverses, on the op-

posite side of the Atlantic. In India, the Portuguese merchants enlarged their establishments on the coasts of Ceylon, so as to secure the cinnamon gardens; while in another oriental direction, they pushed forwards to Sumatra, Java, the Celebes, and Borneo. Their lucrative connections with China and Japan were entirely due to the heroic and apostolic exertions of St. Francis Xavier and his glorious order. Magellan had already sailed round the world, and imposed his name on those dangerous straits, which opened another passage towards Hindoostan; and could the successors of Albuquerque and Almeida have always inherited their civil and military genius; or could the growth of immorality and sensualism, so favoured by the acquisition of almost incredible wealth and the enervating nature of the climate, have been checked, as it ought; or if in the Brazilian regions of South America the diamond and the topaz could have always slept in darkness,—there would have been at least a less acceleration of corruption; and the cultivation of Peruvian bark, or other salubrious tropical productions, might have maintained such an advantageous interchange of commodities, as would have really enriched the mother-country, and induced even Spain herself to withstand the British cruisers, or defy the Dutch and the buccaneers. The Society of Jesus meanwhile was winning its way along the margins of the Maranon and the Paraguay, into the very centre of the continent; where blessings were scattered, religious instructions diffused, and functions performed, of which the amount and extent will never be known until the dawn of the Last Day shall lift up the veil, from what may be described as a Paradise of Catholic missions, without parallel on the face of the earth. Jealousies between states and statesmen in Europe, together with the blighting policy of the too-celebrated Marquis of Pombal, at length brought a cloud over the entire scene. By the erection of privileged commercial companies, trade was to be regulated, or at all events taken from the Jesuits. He divided the Brazils into nine grand provinces,—six on the coast, and three in the interior; these latter ones abounding in gold and precious stones. Measures were in fact adopted for

changing what had been only a colony into a vast empire, such as it is likely to become under our own observation. The exact settlement of boundaries between Spain and Portugal was not arranged before A.D. 1777, when the interests of religion seemed to be ignored by both crowns, as a matter which might be safely abandoned to the winds and waves, or left to the tender mercies of the maxims of philosophy.

From the moment, however, that Philip II. laid his grasp upon the Lusitanian kingdom, the colonial preponderance of the Peninsula began to decline. Holland, with her water-beggars, as the Dutch vessels of war were scornfully termed, was now scouring the seas. In their conflict for liberty, they had obtained an immense share of the commerce of the world. Several of their fisheries, and in particular that of herrings, proved sources of opulence, such as neither Venice nor Genoa had ever known. The Seven States had tested the inherent weakness of their adversary upon that element, whose trident in the hand *which holds* it is a wand for the transmutation of vile *into valuable* material. When the Tagus was closed against them in A.D. 1594, they found themselves forced upon the alternative, either to lose their carrying trade in oriental produce, or import for themselves from India. Their merchants soon formed a famous company, which, with all its evils, remained a political as well as a mercantile body; in the latter respect wholly independent, and in the former little more than nominally subordinate to the States-General; altogether exhibiting a phenomenon which could no where exist except amongst a people who could at once accumulate riches, and avoid for a considerable period their degenerative tendencies. Its virtues were of the homeliest and most practical kind; connecting success with energy, promotion with good behaviour, and obligations cautiously incurred with punctual and accurate fulfilment. Force of arms quickly wrested for the advantage of the Dutch several of the best establishments of their oppressors; such as the Moluccas and Sunda islands, with Batavia in Java, which they built and made the seat of their sovereignty A.D. 1619. Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, had been seized

upon some years before. Their insular positions enabled them to escape the various revolutions constantly occurring on the continent of Hindoostan, at a time when the Mongolian supremacy was too potent to be trifled with. At home their industry was directed to manufactures, from the peculiar character of their country, won as it was from the waters, and preserved by that continuous struggle of ingenuity which braces the faculties, and engenders a spirit of invention. Windmills, as a propelling power, excited their skill in machinery, exactly as steam has operated in Great Britain and Ireland; the discovery of which two centuries ago would have helped them but little, through the extreme scarcity of fuel in their alluvial soils and swampy sand-banks. As it was, an open atmosphere was all they wanted to assist human handicraft in the cheap fabrication of woollen stuffs, hemp, linen, paper, and shipbuilding. Throughout the East they extended their staples along the shores of Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon, and other islands; encroaching every where on the Spanish and Portuguese, even in their peculiar traffic with Canton and Jedsoe. Their surest bulwark was the Cape of Good Hope, intended to be an agricultural colony, but subsequently used as a station of supply for the argosies of Amsterdam, on their outward and homeward voyages. The Brazilian Company, A.D. 1621-54, carried on a series of attacks against the entire South American seaboard; succeeding sometimes, but ultimately failing; although the Dutch still retained several of the West Indian isles, many of their fisheries, and a large portion of the Baltic commerce. The plantations also of Surinam, Essequibo, and Berbice, remained in their possession. France, before the administration of Colbert, had done very little as to colonisation. From the commencement of the seventeenth century, her settlements in Canada and Acadia acquired greater stability by the foundation of Quebec; but the culture of the soil was less the real object than a traffic in peltry, and the cod-fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. Under Richelieu, her efforts had not answered in attracting towards her subjects any satisfactory participation in oriental enterprise; and certain factories in the opposite *regions of the* globe, such as those in St. Chris-

topher, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Cayenne, and Senegal, were rather private than public property. With Louis XIV. there set in quite another state of things. He aimed at establishing colonies of three kinds,—commercial, agricultural, and plantations. Governmental interference overlaid the first; the national impatience of long-continued quiet exertion spoiled the second; but the third prospered, where the planter alone constitutes the overseer, and labour is rapidly rewarded by ample gain. Colbert committed them to chartered companies, until it was clearly ascertained that commerce never will flourish unless when left to itself. Immense exertions were now made; but, strange to say, their acquisition of a part of St. Domingo proved of far greater consequence than all the rest.

It arose, as has been truly observed by a German historian, out of the tyranny of the Spaniards, who, by treating all strangers as enemies, organised a perpetual war in the West Indies, and thus obliged foreign settlers to become corsairs and warriors. The expulsion of the French and English from St. Christopher led to the establishment of a piratical colony on Tortuga, and afterwards on the coasts of Hispaniola; where subsequently to A.D. 1664 they were recognised and assisted from Paris, on the part of the Grand Monarch. Sixteen years had scarcely elapsed, before La Salle having sailed up the river Mississippi, fruitless attempts to found factories in Louisiana demonstrated that ropes were not to be woven out of sand. Similar follies had been perpetrated in Madagascar and India; until symptoms of common sense at length appeared at Surat and Pondicherry, A.D. 1675-9. At a later date, posterior to the Peace of Utrecht, an improved system with regard to her foreign possessions was adopted by France altogether. The importation of her products came to be free of duty, and the customs were very much reduced on colonial articles re-exported from French harbours. Permission and encouragement were afforded generally to whatever might promote the welfare of Martinique, into which island the coffee-tree was introduced from Surinam; assisted as its cultivation was by a vile traffic in slaves with Spanish America, as also by the habits of the planters themselves,

who devoted all their energies to business, in order that they might return the sooner enriched to their native land. In the East, two stations, deserted by the Dutch, were occupied, the Isles of France and Bourbon; and under the administration of Labordonnais, A.D. 1736, both prospered. The flourishing period, however, of French prowess in India was from A.D. 1751; when, by the aid of Dupleix, it domineered over the four Circars, the island Sherigaun commanding the river Canvery, Masulipatam, and an extensive district near Carical and Pondicherry. The peace of Paris, indeed, reversed nine-tenths of this; broke up also the ingenious scheme in North America, of uniting Louisiana and the St. Lawrence by a chain of military posts, and transferred Canada, as well as Nova Scotia, to that rival, who crossed the devices of Versailles at every turn. Yet St. Domingo alone appeared to make up to the mother-country an equivalent for her losses elsewhere. Its 2000 estates, beneath the fair influences of their genial climate, yielded a return under Louis XVI. to the amount of 170,000,000 of livres per annum, or about 7,000,000*l.* sterling. Such were some of the results of the colonial European system in the two Indies; while still greater ones were and are to follow. Two of the Scandinavian kingdoms had already imitated their southern and more powerful contemporaries. Denmark had occupied St. Thomas since A.D. 1671; St. Jahn was brought under culture by her subjects about half a century later; and St. Croix was purchased from the French in A.D. 1733. The Danish Company was started at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, for trading to Tranquebar, and soon obtained that country from the Rajah of Tanjore. Sweden embarked in similar schemes after the death of Charles XII.; and at the termination of the American contest received St. Bartholomew from France, in exchange for commercial concessions, A.D. 1784. But we must now go back to the primary measures and movements of Great Britain, which enabled her to eclipse every other competitor in the race, and found that glorious agglomeration of foreign territories, extended, on a larger or smaller scale, over the habitable surface of the globe.

Her circumstances, after the peace of Utrecht, were those of continuous progress and prosperity. With a population of rather more than 8,000,000 in the three kingdoms, she had carried on a contest of twelve years in duration, at an outlay for naval and military forces of about 6,000,000*l.* annually, besides her civil and domestic expenditure. Notwithstanding the growth of the national debt, Lord Godolphin shows, in A.D. 1706, that the credit of England and Holland was so good as to reduce the rate of interest generally to four, or at the most, five per cent. Sir Robert Walpole brought down the 52,000,000*l.*, of which the entire public funds consisted when he entered office, to 46,000,000*l.*, and the yearly dividends from a charge of 3,300,000*l.* to one of only 2,200,000*l.* His army was less than 30,000 men, and his sailors only a third of that number. The total expenses for the year A.D. 1730 were 5,655,462*l.*; and this presents a fair average of his administration, lasting, as it did, directly or indirectly, for nearly a generation. The land-tax produced about a million and a half *sterling*, at three shillings in the pound; the malt-duty not quite a million; the remainder being made up from coals, excise, customs, and miscellanies. The civil service, including the royal revenue, came to about 4,000,000*l.*, or rather under that amount; a portion of the land-forces consisted of 12,000 Hessians, costing 240,000*l.* per annum; the charge of sailors was about four pounds a month; the half-pay to officers and marines, was 64,000*l.* a-year; and the pension to widows only 1500*l.*! Domestic manufactures meanwhile exhibited marvellous multiplication; and even watch-work, jewelry, cutlery, and the finer toys, were got up with exquisite elegance and neatness. There was plenty of work for industrious fingers; nor was the rate of wages low, when we bear in mind the range of prices for the more common necessaries of life. Political economy, indeed, seemed slightly understood; but the culture of flax was encouraged; raw silk was imported from Italy and China; the skins of beavers, with various sorts of fur, were procured from the company trading to Hudson's Bay; and our linen and woollen fabrics purchased for the aristocracy and gentry the wines, brandies, raisins, olives, and

other fruits of France, to say nothing of her carpets, stuffs, tapestry, velvets, and laces. Great Britain and her rival began to find their account in enlarging the number and boundaries of their colonies, as in part we have already seen. Those of the former extended from the bay of Fundy to the frontiers of Florida in North America. New England furnished masts, yards, and timber for the royal navy; New York and New Jersey, with Pennsylvania, afforded abundant crops of corn and timber for the British ports in the West Indies. The tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was a staple commodity in high request, and a profitable source of income; and the two provinces of North and South Carolina, by the culture of rice and indigo, as well as the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, possessed no inconsiderable value. Jamaica, which had been wrenched from Spain by Oliver Cromwell, afforded large returns of wealth to its planters as soon as the buccaneers had been once suppressed. Even before that event, the exploits and profligacy of those freebooters had enriched individuals who preyed upon the plunderers themselves, and turned their vices and prodigality to good private account; but when the seas had become safe, the commercial fortunes of the island were immensely developed through the share which England had acquired by the treaty of Utrecht in the Assiento, and the clandestine abuses springing up out of it. British factories came to be established at Carthagena, and in the other Spanish colonies. Beyond a particular point the traffic was illicit, but clever agencies easily eluded the letter of the law; nor could the guarda costas, substituted by the court at Madrid in the places of the ancient galleons, at all exterminate the smugglers, favoured, or at least connived at, as the latter were, by the merchants of both nations. Cargoes were proportioned and assorted with such aptitude and suitability to the demands of the market, that a system of contraband intercourse expanded into a lucrative and secure commerce, denounced by ministers, winked at by bribed officials, and ultimately leading to a war with Spain, A.D. 1740. In that absurd contest immense treasures and much bloodshed were wasted; but the genius of Anson and

some of his colleagues assisted in maintaining our naval and commercial prosperity, so that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1748, left England under the House of Brunswick rich, and the Bourbon kingdoms poor. It was in India, however, that the grand culmination of Great Britain occurred, which, to fully understand, will require a brief retrospect of what had taken place in the East since the decease of Timour the Tartar. That famous man-slayer, it may be remembered, expired on his road to China, A.D. 1405 or 1406.

The Great Mogul Cublai Khan, descended from Zinghis, the common ancestor of himself and probably of Tamerlane, had conquered the Chinese regions, A.D. 1280, and introduced Buddhism or Fo-ism, of which the Delhi Llama of Thibet is the spiritual head. The northern provinces came to be called Cathay; the southern Manjee, a corruption of Mantzee. The dynasty of Youen, thus founded by the Mongols, was overthrown and expelled by the native Mings, A.D. 1366: and the capital of the empire, three years after the death of Tamerlane, was transferred from Nankin to Pekin. In the thirteenth century, the Kin or Eastern Tartars, on being driven out by the Mongols or Western Tartars, had retired to Mongden or Manchow; and when, in the subsequent age, the Mings or native Chinese had triumphed, the posterity of Cublai sought refuge among the Kin, their old opponents. From their intermarriages arose the Bogdoi Khans, or Manchow Princes, who, on being called in to suppress insurrection and rebellion, commenced the present reigning race of sovereigns, about A.D. 1644, and their frontiers nominally extended over all Thibet, and, with the exception of Independent Tartary, to the very limits of Persia. Timour Beg, or Tamerlane, when he had returned into the latter country after his victory over Bajazet, carried with him a multitude of Caramanian and Anatolian captives, whose indiscriminate massacre he was coolly contemplating. About twenty-five miles to the east of Tabriz, there dwelt a Mahometan Santon or saint, named Safi or Sophi, the thirteenth descendant from Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet of Islam. Timour frequently conversed with this de-

votee, and so fell under his influence that he offered to grant him any favour he might ask. His philanthropic request was, that the conqueror should spare the lives of all his prisoners, which was not only at once conceded, but the poor creatures were consigned to the will of their benefactor, that he might do with them whatever he pleased. His affluence was as great as his benevolence, perhaps through the offerings of his admirers; but be that as it may, he fed and clothed those whom he had preserved, and dismissed them in safety to their homes. His fame naturally spread thoughout Iran, where there also lurked vast numbers of sectaries, attached indeed to the Koran, but abhorring the Sonna, or Mahometan traditions. Ishmael, of the sixth generation from the friend of Timour, founded the throne of the Sophies in Persia, partly through the hereditary influence derived from his religious ancestor; but chiefly from a series of fortunate circumstances which happened to promote the ascendency of the Shiites, looked upon as heretics by other Mussulmen. Shah Abbas proved himself the greatest of their monarchs, diverting as he did the forces of the Ottomans from Europe; taking Bagdad by storm, A.D. 1613; and regaining the isle and kingdom of Ormuz from the Portuguese, through the assistance of the English, in A.D. 1622. He made Ispahan his capital, where a policy was set in motion which annihilated an oligarchy of about twenty powerful families, who for some interval had overawed the government without relieving the people. In Hindoostan the first and second Gaurian or Affghan families had ruled from the close of the twelfth century, nor had the invasion of Timour done much more than ravage the mere line of march along which his armies moved; but his grandson Mohammed was the great-grandfather of the Sultan Baber, who established the Mongolian empire throughout India, A.D. 1525. On the decease of his successor Akbar, one hundred and twenty years afterwards, we find his vast dominions subdivided into fifteen Subahs or Vice-royalties, namely, those of Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Agimere, Guzarat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Moultan, Malwa, Berah, Candesh, and Ahmednugger. The hitherto

or lower peninsula included the kingdoms of the Deccan, Golconda, Orissa, the Carnatic, the Mysore, Madura, Marava, and Tanjore, besides those of the Canara and Malabar. The Mahrattas, a nation of Hindoo characteristics, originally inhabited the north-western portion of these countries, dating from their peculiar era, still in use, A.D. 77-8, when Shalivahan succeeded in founding his sovereignty, of which the Nerbuddah was the northern boundary. They had long, however, been lost to history as a distinct people; but about the period of the Manchow occupation of China, they reappeared from their native hills a new and almost unknown race, under the notorious adventurer Sivajee Bhonslay. He made himself master of the whole coast of the Concan, from Kallian to Goa, compelling the Portuguese to treat with him, and holding at his death half the Carnatic, besides various districts in other directions. On the dissolution of the Great Mogul Aurungzebe, A.D. 1707, the Mahratta power would have scarcely held together, had it not been for the Brahmins, who guided the helm of public affairs, and particularly Ballajee Wishwanath, the first Peishwa or vizier, a mayor of the palace, aggregating to his own office an authority which soon eclipsed that of the nominal sovereign. Although the sons and grandsons of Sivajee were acknowledged as heads of the nation, a Brahminical aristocracy in reality reigned. As the representatives of Timour and Baber felt their musnud quaking beneath them at Delhi, they formed an alliance with the Peishwa Ballajee, which put all Central India at his feet. Meanwhile the Seiks and the Rajpoots pressed forward from the west, and a still more terrible scourge was at hand. The mountains of Candahar were the residence of the Affghans, a sort of oriental Swiss, gaining their subsistence by the pasturage of cattle and the wages paid for their swords; their progenitors had already ruled in Hindoostan, and they professed themselves rather in league with the Sophies at Ispahan, than subjects to their now feeble sceptre. It was the commencement of the eighteenth century, when Hussein, nearly the last of them, lay dissolved as a voluptuous sentimentalist in his seraglio, and wondered what

could happen to the wearer of a crown which glittered on his brow,—a rich pyramid of pearls and gems and gold. At that very moment his ruin gleamed ominously through the lattices from the spears and lances of an Affghan rebellion, which ultimately set aside the dynasty, and made way for the achievements of Nadir Shah. Mir Weis and his son Mahmoud, the successful insurgents, enjoyed their usurpation but for a brief interval. Asraf, nephew to the first rebel, was also slain by an aspirant of a still higher order, A.D. 1730, who, mounting upon the ambition of his three predecessors, attained those altitudes of sanguinary criminality which are rarely reached by the ordinary oppressors of mankind.

The primary names of this personage were Nadir Kouli. He was born near Kallat, a strong fortress in Khorassan, where he was bred up as a shepherd, being a Turkman of the tribe of Afshar. On the death of his father, when he was only thirteen, his entire patrimony consisted of an ass and a camel, on which he carried fuel to market, and sold it for the subsistence of his mother. His later avocations were alternately those of a robber and a corsair, with some of those incidents of abduction and murder almost inseparable from the kind of life he led. The distracted court of Ispahan at length engaged his services, which were employed against the Uzbek and other Tartars, as also against the Ottomans and the opponents of the only remaining representatives of the Sophies. In the employment of the last he supplanted the new Affghan dynasty; and then, on the strength of his reputation, exterminated the final remnant of the Shahs of Persia, ascending their throne himself, and becoming a terror even to the Moguls, A.D. 1736. He conquered the ancient Tefflis, and obtained from the Russians the ports of the Caspian, and the passes of Derbend in the Caucasus. The successors of Aurungzebe had offended or neglected the Subahdar or Nizam of the Deccan, upon which he invited Nadir Shah to invade the East Indies. At the head of an army inured to war and greedy of plunder, he sacked Delhi in A.D. 1739, and ultimately wrested from the Great Mogul all the territories *west* of the Indus. His expedition cost

200,000 lives. The treasure he carried back with him into Persia was estimated at seventy millions of pounds sterling, extorted often by the most horrid tortures from innocent individuals suspected of having concealed it. A dervise on one occasion ventured to remonstrate with him in person: "Invincible Shah!" said he, "if thou art a god, declare thy clemency; if a prophet, show us the way of salvation; if a king, put us not to death, but reign over us, and render us happy." To which Nadir replied: "I am not a god, that I should forgive; nor a prophet, that I should teach; nor your king, that I should reign over you; but I am he whom God sends in His wrath to punish the nations of the earth." And such he was in deed and in truth: he was the Attila and Genseric of his age melted into a single monster. His talents combined the art of inflicting torments without the relief of death. In his native Khorassan he was at length happily assassinated by his guards at midnight, who recognised his bed by the profusion of precious stones heaped upon it, and which reflected the lamp of his murderers as they drew their weapons: 15th May, A.D. 1747. His nephew Adil, a licentious youth, was set upon his musnud, or royal seat of judgment. One of his generals seized upon Candahar, Cabul, Lahore, and Moultan, within a couple of years afterwards. The Mongolian ministers now called in the Mahrattas against the Affghans and the predatory Jäuts of Agra. The feeble emperor felt even unequal to protect himself against his own vizier; and after his capital had been twice captured and pillaged, Shah Allum II. was compelled to seek his safety from the clemency and prudence of the British. In the meantime, as the Mongolian dominion went to pieces, the grand officials of the empire had converted their provincial governments into independent sovereignties, still retaining their subordinate titles,—such as the Nizam or Regent of the Deccan, the Vizier of Oude, the Nabobs of the Carnatic or Bengal.

It had been in the last year of the sixteenth century that an association of English merchants obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter, for a limited term, for trading with Hindoostan. After various changes, and the acquisi-

tion of Bombay by Charles II. as the nuptial portion of his good consort Catherine of Portugal, it was in A.D. 1689 that the directors of the Company first fairly avowed their intentions to become a nation in India. The earliest presidency was that of Surat, upon a somewhat moderate scale; and the descendant of Timour probably cast a supercilious glance, eight years after Calcutta had obtained that rank, in A.D. 1707-15, upon two plain yet intelligent factors who brought from thence, as the humble offerings of its merchants, 100 gold mohurs, a table-clock adorned with diamonds, the horn of an unicorn or rhinoceros, a large lump of ambergris, a gilded escritoire, an immense map of the world, with a very respectful letter from the honourable governor to the emperor. How have times changed in the oriental horoscope! Half a century barely elapsed before the victories and policy of Lord Clive obtained out of the wreck of the Mongolian argosy the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by which the sovereignty of the English was extended over more than a hundred thousand square miles of territory, including the rich cities of Patna and Benares, and the Deltas of the Brahmapootra and the Ganges. The Pergunnahs and the Burdwan were already theirs, with Midnapore and Chittagong, whilst the Nizam had to surrender to them Masulipatam and the Northern Circars. The Nabob of Arcot had conceded the Jaghire of Madras; and from the Mahrattas was won the important isle of Salsette for the settlements at Bombay. The Vizier of Oude and the Rajah of Tanjore also contributed to the British establishments. Such were among the results of the battle at Plassey, A.D. 1757, where Clive with his small army overthrew Souraj-ud-Dowlah, bringing against him more than 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, besides 50 pieces of cannon directed by French officers. From that grand crisis the colonial system of every other European state gave way before the banners of Great Britain. The protracted administration of Warren Hastings not only consolidated this growing domination abroad, but enabled the legislature at home to subjugate the Company, with all its possessions, to the control of parliament and the crown. Then followed the governor-generalships of

the Marquises Cornwallis and Wellesley, the fearful collision between the ascendency of Versailles and that of London in the Mysorean wars, the fall of Seringapatam and Tippoo Sahib, the early exploits of Wellington, the siege of Bhurtpore, and the irresistible supremacy of the English from the Himmalayas to Cape Comorin. At subsequent periods the Mahrattas and the Pindarees have been thoroughly subdued; but for many years after the great Mogul had remained as a pensioned prisoner at Delhi, his name was adopted in the acts of government, and his coin was the circulating medium of the country. Lord Hastings, however, terminated this illusion in A.D. 1818, unveiling before the world the wonderful phenomenon of an Anglo-oriental empire, reaching two thousand miles from the Sutlej to the Southern Cape, and as far from the Indus to Arracan. About three-fourths of the geographical surface are the direct and absolute possessions of the Company; these being so arranged as to secure an effective political and military command over the remaining quarter. *The population* may be stated at about one hundred and forty millions, of whom from thirty to forty millions are under the nominal sway of titular princes, maintained in mock pageantry, whose extinction can be at no great distance, being neither more nor less than parallels to such kings as Eumenes, Attalus, Herod, and Agrippa in the ancient Roman history. The revenues of India are about twenty-five millions sterling per annum; and the armies comprise about four hundred thousand men in round numbers. The Punjaub, Scinde, with one province after another of Burmah, are being gradually absorbed; to say nothing of the archipelago of stations and islands stretching like a chain of jewels toward the insular continent of Australia, and ready to act as talismans upon Siam, China, and Japan. The soil, of twelve hundred thousand square miles in extent, for the most part is rich and fertile, and suited to every kind of tropical produce. Exports and imports, already enormous, are but on the point or in the very preliminary process of development. Steam navigation is *bringing* Bombay within a voyage from the sovereign *country* of as many weeks as it formerly required months

to accomplish. Yet it must be remembered that this magical empire rests upon opinion. It has no natural rock of adamant for its basis. It has grown up like the enchanted palace of Aladdin in the Arabian Nights. And as in the favourite fable alluded to, there was a window of the hall left incomplete, so in the case of the Anglo-Indian dominion, the fabric never seems finished. There is always a war to begin or conclude; some robbery to avenge or perhaps perpetrate; some province of diamonds, opium, or indigo to set in order or conquer. In the annals of Rome Adrian surrendered the acquisitions of his predecessors; but the British heroes of Hindoostan have as yet been all Trajans!

The old patent for the East India Company had been renewed at the Restoration, with political privileges extending to the erection of fortresses. Possession was also taken of the island of St. Helena, deserted by the Dutch after their settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. Charles II. also gave his enterprising merchants his matrimonial prize of Bombay in A.D. 1668, which gradually superseded Surat, being declared a presidency, together with Madras, in A.D. 1687. In the same year, a factory was established at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, for the pepper trade. The district of Calcutta was not purchased, nor Fort William built, before quite the close of the century; and immense had been the clamour excited at home by the importation of Indian muslins and silks. A second company was then formed, afterwards united with the first, on the 22d July, A.D. 1702, notwithstanding the continued outcry against their monopoly, as oriental cottons came into almost universal use. When hostilities had commenced between the Great Mogul and his nominal subordinate, the Nabob of Bengal, in the reign of our James II., the early outlines of that policy appeared which rendered the English what they afterwards became in Hindoostan. A moderate grant of land was obtained, with a license for traffic; then enormous warehouses sprang up, and these had to be surrounded by a wall, a ditch, or a stockade. Presently a couple of great guns protected the entrances; the ramparts were observed to widen into more capacious and scientific forms; more artillery

frowned over their battlements, or protruded menacingly their muzzles through the embrasures; small bodies of troops were seen in uniform, their numbers annually increasing as the standard of the United Kingdom unfurled with greater boldness in the early sea-breezes. Clerks grew into secretaries or writers; counting-houses expanded into boards of revenue, factories into fortifications, agencies into governments, merchants into princes, the company into an empire. Aurungzebe was once provoked into giving orders for the expulsion of the British from his dominions; but it was too late. The imperial Court, the rebellious Soubahdar, or the dreaded Mahratta, each and all in their turn made the sojourn of the strangers desirable or necessary, each availed themselves of the fatal alliance; whilst, as compared with the covetousness of the Hollanders, the unreadiness of the Frenchman, the enervation of the Portuguese, and the absence of ambition in the Dane,—the commercial enterprise, the political cleverness, the undaunted perseverance, the invincible genius of England, bore down every obstacle to her supremacy. It was favoured, moreover, by a series of minute, yet fortunate circumstances; such as the presence of a surgeon at Delhi on one occasion, A.D. 1715-17, who had medical influence over the despot just at that momentous juncture, when leave was applied for and conceded for consolidating the presidency of Calcutta. It is in the occurrence of these minor felicities of coincidence, so to speak, that we may discern the purposes of an almighty and overruling Providence, quite as much as in the convulsions of nature, the shock of battle, the collisions of nations, or the subversion of dynasties.

The African companies of England, of which there have been several, produced consequences of small notoriety, except as they affected slavery and the slave-trade. Forts were founded on the Gambia and Sierra Leone; but it was across the Atlantic ocean that the attention of the world was in due course of time to be turned. There she acquired, under the auspices of her celebrated statesman, afterwards Lord Chatham, and his predecessors, the whole line of coast from Canada to Georgia. The American colonies were formed into distinct provinces, as we have al-

ready seen; but their number was augmented by the new acquisitions, and the subdivisions, in some instances, of the old ones, besides the important privileges and improved constitutions obtained for Connecticut and Rhode Island. New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts in A.D. 1691: the two Carolinas had been taken from Virginia in A.D. 1663; whilst emigration from the parent land poured into them many daring spirits and able adventurers. The culture of rice had been long introduced into South Carolina from Madagascar; colonial productions generally met with a sale in Europe which exceeded all expectation; the mother states would not relinquish their claims to an exclusive traffic, but smuggling met with nearly universal connivance. Georgia was the youngest of the thirteen original settlements; and in the north, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, were still little better than wildernesses. But the participation in the cod fisheries, secured by the possession of those countries, told favourably upon the commerce and navigation of England. Her navy enabled her, during any war, not merely to maintain a constant communication with and between her most distant colonies, but at the same time to prevent her enemies from doing the same, so that their trade went to ruin as a matter of course. Before hostilities broke out with France in A.D. 1756, irritating disputes had been raging for a considerable interval as to Canadian questions and Nova Scotian boundaries, for New Brunswick had been considered as included within the latter. The forts attempted to be built along the Ohio, so as to connect New Orleans and the Mississippi with the lakes, the St. Lawrence, and Quebec, the English provincials had destroyed; for otherwise they would have been entirely cut off from the peltry trade of Hudson's Bay and the Back Settlements. The Peace of Paris, through the results of that glorious campaign in which General Wolfe scaled the heights of Abraham, and defeated the Marquis of Montcalm, appeared to have fixed the royal authority of the House of Hanover upon the firmest foundations from the Arctic regions to Florida; yet events proved it to be the reverse. Those *who* at all looked below the surface of

things might have felt sure that a desire for independence cannot fail to be natural to flourishing agricultural populations, because a new nation becomes gradually formed within them. The West Indian islands had been only so many beautiful gardens, in which the European powers had cultivated tropical productions for luxurious enjoyment; but New York and New England had a higher destiny. The seeds of democracy had there been scattered broadcast, from the summits of the Alleghanies to the sea-shore. A fermentation of the leaven introduced itself into almost every province, every city and town, every village and hamlet. The principles of Toryism also may be said to have assumed the ascendant in the Court of St. James, with the succession of George III. to his wiser grandfather. Some considerable check was no doubt needed for the culminating grandeur of Great Britain. This occurred in the catastrophe which evoked from her establishments in North America a temporary humiliation to her own obstinacy and haughtiness, and a permanent advantage to *mankind, in* the foundation of less exclusive institutions upon a *colossal* scale. For it is to be hoped, if not trusted, that the mighty transatlantic republic will hold fast by the Anglo-Saxon traditions of her primeval ancestors, and teach the western world, that the ark of political freedom is never more safe than when submission to spiritual authority so refines the heart, and elevates the understanding, that liberty can be rescued from licentiousness, and genuine prosperity sought for in the religion of Christ and His Apostles.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1740-83.

PRUSSIA AND FREDERICK THE GREAT—MARIA THERESA AND HER DOMINIONS—DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM, AS THE RESULTS OF PROTESTANTISM—THE CONTEST BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES.

HAVING brought the history of Europe down to the death of the Emperor Charles VI., the kingdom of Prussia becomes a prominent object of attention. Its origin and

characteristics, as one of the Great Powers, essentially arose out of the ecclesiastical revolt of Germany, at the commencement of the sixteenth century. They may be described as the political and religious realisation of Lutheranism. Their foundations were laid in perjury, apostasy, and plunder, from the time that Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic knights, sacrificed the duties of his profession and order to the secular advantages of his family, A.D. 1525. He declared himself a convert to the new persuasion; violated his most solemn vows; seized upon the largest amount of consecrated spoils that were ever appropriated by the strong hand of robbery in any continental country; married the fair daughter of Frederick the Danish monarch; and accepted the hereditary dukedom of Prussia as a fief from Poland. The royal house is derived from the ancient Swabian family of Hohenzollern, the earliest-known ancestor of which was Thassilo Count of Zollern, who died about A.D. 800. His descendants, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, became Burgraves of Nürnberg. The eighth of these princely officials, having lent considerable sums of money, and rendered other important services to the Emperor Sigismund, was by him first appointed viceroy of Brandenburg, and subsequently invested with the sovereignty of that country, together with the electoral dignity and the high rank of arch-chamberlain of the empire. One of his descendants, Frederic-William, commonly called the great elector, succeeded his father George-William, A.D. 1640; and strengthened his position in Northern Germany at the peace of Westphalia, besides securing ultimately the feudal independence of Polish Prussia. The same prince broke the military prestige of Sweden, by defeating her troops at Havelberg, A.D. 1675; bequeathing to his son, thirteen years afterwards, a well-organised and flourishing state of about 42,000 square miles in extent. The Emperor Leopold conferred upon the latter the regal title A.D. 1701, which was recognised at the treaty of Utrecht; whereby Frederic I. also obtained the inheritance of the town and territories of Gueldres, as an heir to the family of Cleves, and the settled sovereignty of Neufchatel. Juliers and Berg fell after-

wards to the share of Prussia. As grandson, moreover, to Frederic-Henry Prince of Orange, he acquired the counties of Lingen and Meurs, the lordship of Heristhal, and many other estates in Westphalia and Holland. Before, however, the final arrangements could be made, his new crown had passed to his successor Frederic-William I., 24th Feb. A.D. 1713. Economy had become necessary, at the same time, to rescue the realm from financial embarrassment; for the expensive novelties of royalty could not fail to have somewhat deranged the simplicity of an electoral court. It was practised accordingly, and with immense success. The Prussian potentate drew the bulk of his revenues from national domains; hence the management of these constituted an important feature in the domestic administration. Hereditary leases were abolished, and subjected with the city lands to a general directory. In consequence of such regulations, there arose an annual fixed income, which enabled the minister of finance to keep the expenditure within reasonable limits, and, in the end, accumulate from the surplus very large treasures. Such was the geographical situation of the country, that it might be doubted whether it belonged to the east or west; but an army of 100,000 veterans, including the famous Tall Regiment, attracted universal notice, more particularly as the talents and ambition of the crown prince began to develop themselves. On ascending the paternal throne, he found himself absolute master of a kingdom containing two millions and a quarter of inhabitants, a revenue of 14,000,000 dollars, besides a balance in hand of about three-fifths of that amount. In the following October, A.D. 1740, Charles VI. expired suddenly, after eating heartily of a dish of mushrooms; which "dish of mushrooms," observes Voltaire, "was to change the destinies of Europe." The Pragmatic Sanction indeed bound the Prussian monarch, by the strictest obligations, to leave Maria Theresa unmolested in her inheritance; but what were political pledges when compared with selfish aspirations? His mind had been moulded in the philosophy of deism under the purest Lutheran auspices. The basis of moral responsibility, for intentions and actions to Almighty

God, was scorned and scouted in an age bidding defiance to that spiritual authority upon which alone it can be founded; so that Frederic the Great, fully instructed as he had been in the letter of those Scriptures, interpreted and ultimately rejected by his private judgment, resolved to render his government a first-rate power, let it cost whatever it might. He therefore occupied Silesia within two months after the death of the late emperor, upon pretences which, whether just or otherwise in the abstract, had been neutralised by recent engagements.

Silesia contained seven principalities and six lordships, with a million and a half of inhabitants, for the most part Protestants mingled with Catholics, rich, industrious, and intelligent, and not overburdened with taxes. There were also many Jews; but toleration for all was the motto of the invader; whilst he made offers to the Queen of Hungary, that if she would allow herself to be fleeced by him to a certain point, he would protect her from all other shearers. The court of Vienna naturally apprehended that submission to such gross injustice would only inflame cupidity; for there were many claimants eagerly gasping for their prey. Charles Albert of Bavaria pleaded for Bohemia; Augustus of Poland demanded the entire Austrian succession, in right of his consort, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, who was of course older than his late brother Charles. Similar pretensions were asserted on the same ground by his Catholic Majesty. Louis XV. of France uttered whispers about his ancient lineage, derived through the queens of the sire and grandsire of his grandfather; and the King of Sardinia wanted the duchy of Milan. Maria Theresa summoned up the spirit that dwelt within her, and decided upon braving the storm. The sanguinary engagement at Molwiz, in April A.D. 1741, manifested the dexterity of the Prussian soldiery in close fighting, and delivering those rapid and well-directed volleys which sweep whole ranks from the field. Still refusing to treat with the imperious victor, upon his bitter terms, she quickly discovered that he had coalesced with France and Bavaria to deprive her husband and family of the imperial diadem. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen

in due course, to the exclusion, for the time, of Francis, under the title of Charles VII. Prague had fallen; Austria was shaken; the valuables began to be removed from Vienna; and the enemy dared to address the indomitable lioness of Germany as a mere Archduchess of Tuscany; when, with her infant son Joseph in her arms, the descendant of so many emperors, she resolved to appeal personally to the Hungarian Diet. "Abandoned," said she, "by my friends, persecuted by my foes, attacked by my nearest relatives, I have no resource left, but in your fidelity and valour. On you alone I depend for relief; and into your care I commit with confidence the son of your sovereign and my just cause." So flattering an address to their loyalty, flowing from the lips of their beautiful and heroic queen, in the deepest distress, awakened the souls of the Palatines; who drew their sabres, and protested, in tones of enthusiasm, that they would live and die for their King Maria Theresa! Tears were shed on all sides. They flew to arms; Great Britain afforded some considerable subsidies; Spain and Saxony indeed joined the confederacy against the fulfilment of the Pragmatic Sanction; but the triumph of Frederick at Cnazlau, in May A.D. 1742, led to the pacification of Breslau, and gave the imperialists breathing-time in that quarter.

Bohemia was now recovered, and Bavaria conquered in its turn. A victory at Dettingen compelled the French to recross the Rhine. Saxony was won back again to its old colours. The bribes of England bought Sardinia to follow in her wake; and even Holland agreed to raise auxiliaries for Austria. The united fleets of France and Spain were beaten off Toulon by the British in A.D. 1744: when, to save Charles VII. from utter ruin, and secure as well as extend his Silesian seizures, the King of Prussia once more allied himself with the spoliators, just before the decease of the unfortunate emperor removed at least one element of irritation from the general confusion. The German diadem was at length obtained for Francis I., to the inexpressible delight of his consort the empress-queen. Frederick had gained a series of triumphs over the Austrians and Saxons under Charles of Lorraine at Hohenfriedburg; also over the

armies of the former at Sorr; and over those of the latter at Kesselsdorf. These produced the peace of Dresden, which settled matters for a few years between Prussia and the Empire. But, on the other hand, France fought with invincible vigour, supported by her allies, in Italy and the Netherlands. Marshal Saxe gathered his laurels at Fontenoy in the presence of Louis XV.; whilst the diversion, successful for a season, made on behalf of Charles Edward, the young Chevalier, in England, drew home those gallant battalions, which under the Duke of Cumberland and Sir John Ligonier had been the admiration of their antagonists. The French were again victorious at Raucoux and Laffield: but beyond the Alps, where a quarrel had occurred between themselves and the Spaniards relative to negotiations with Sardinia, both were repulsed with great loss in attempting to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro. Genoa played a conspicuous part in the struggle. Naples had been compelled to be neutral through the steadiness of the British fleet. Provence was invaded in vain; Philip V. had died, and been succeeded by Ferdinand VI., without any material change in the purposes of the court at Madrid. In India, La Bourdonnais had taken Madras; but in North America, D'Anville miscarried in an enterprise of magnitude for the recovery of Cape Breton. Yet the two branches of the House of Bourbon prepared for a final trial of strength. France particularly expected, that through her superiority in the Netherlands she should effect a separation of her enemies by a violent attack upon Holland. This, happily for the republic, led to the restoration of her hereditary stadtholderate in the person of William Henry Friso, of the younger line of the family of Orange, and its then rightful representative, A.D. 1747. Russia was now brought upon the scene; and her armies, as auxiliaries to Austria, poured down the valley of the Rhine. The French attacked Brabant, and captured Bergen-op-Zoom. In Italy, Marshal Belleisle took Nice and Villa Franca; relieved the Genoese from an investment of imperial and Piedmontese troops under Count Scuylenberg; while his brother encountered the death of a soldier in the Pass of Exilles. At sea, the *English* enjoyed their now customary supe-

riority, under Admirals Hawke, Warren, and Anson. Hostilities at length ceased, through the labours of the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1748; whereby the embers were kept smoulderingly alive for another conflict, when the opportunity should arrive, and the combatants be again ready; but which professed to arrange for the present, that France and England should restore their mutual acquisitions made during the war; nothing being concluded respecting the contested boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastella, were settled on Don Philip, the second son of Elizabeth Farnese, queen dowager of Spain, and his male posterity, with the condition of a reversion. No one else really gained any thing. Frederick himself had scarcely improved upon the terms which he had obtained six years before at Breslau. France had sacrificed myriads of men, and many millions of treasure. Great Britain had augmented her national debt to 80,000,000*l.* sterling! Maria Theresa had lost Silesia, with the Italian duchies just mentioned, and a part of the Milanese to Sardinia: but then, as the reward of her courage and constancy, she had secured the imperial crown for her consort and family; besides being permitted to reign with dignity over the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the provinces of Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgaw, and Brisgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, and the Tyrol, and by far the largest and most valuable portion of the fair cities and regions of Lombardy.

This noble princess had certainly justified the predilections and expectations of her father. Her mind was essentially an aspiring one; but then it combined the tact and loveliness of a woman, with the strength and governmental character of the sterner sex. Austria became more flourishing and powerful, under her administration, than it had ever before been under the house of Hapsburg. Her genius, as Von Müller has shown, sent fresh vigour into every department of the state. The peaceful acquisition of Transylvania by Charles VI., through the death of Michael Apafy, its last native prince, according to the provisions laid down at Carlowitz, had secured her 1,200,000

warlike subjects, and the position of a strong and beautiful country upon that side of her dominions most exposed to Turkish invasion. Every year of peace repaid her maternal cares with a large increase of population and prosperity. The forty summers and winters of her reign presented, indeed, a chequered scene, if the analysis of what took place were to be prosecuted much below the surface, for her people were strangely mingled together. Absolutism issued the word of command at Vienna, which was obeyed to a certain extent from Milan to Hermanstadt: yet, whilst it established external order, and promoted the arts and sciences, there was no fusion of the various races into one mighty nation. In the subsequent Seven Years' War, however, she was able to defy the utmost forces of Frederick; and the moral character of her personal court and household stand out in not unfavourable contrast to the profligacy of Paris, the coarseness of Berlin, or the vulgarity of London. In politics, her main object was, no doubt, to avenge upon her powerful rival his triumphs in her Silesian losses. She could neither forgive nor forget the treaties of Breslau and Dresden. It was true that she retained a small slice of the coveted prize included within the circles of Troppau and Teschen; but this only served as a monument of her humiliation. The Prussian monarch therefore watched her closely, resting like a warrior on his arms. He knew that she was coquetting with the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, and Count Brühl, the ruling minister in the court of Saxony. Her premier, Prince Kaunitz, too, was the soul of her cabinet: a deep worldly statesman, who idolised pleasure for its own sake, and used it for the sake of others. It had enabled him, when sent as ambassador to Versailles, to measure with the most precise exactness the amount of influence which each mistress exercised over the indolent and voluptuous mind of Louis XV. His female agencies were there laid out, with all the cunning of a fowler, who has a particular bird to ensnare. In every respect he was the opposite to Frederick, from the exquisite affectation of his dress to his manner of negotiating an alliance. Both, perhaps, were secret infidels, permitted to corrupt their contemporaries in different

ways. In their eyes, the Church was to be treated as an engine of state-craft, to aggrandise the great, and keep the lower classes in order. The one swept all before him on the field of battle; the other undermined the basis of the mightiest schemes of policy, until they collapsed like a house built with cards. From the decease of Cardinal Fleury, A.D. 1743, the French ministers had never been able to acquire either real stableness or respectability. The Marchioness of Pompadour set up and put down whom she pleased, A.D. 1746-64. Her favourite the Abbé Bernis was in office, when Kaunitz arranged with him those preliminaries, which presently ripened into a definitive confederacy for the overthrow of Frederick and the partition of his kingdom. An especial object with the court of Versailles, as respected England, was the annihilation of her colonial prosperity in North America. George II had placed his electorate of Hanover under the protection of Prussia, that being the cheapest method of maintaining his natural position and influence in Germany. France took umbrage at this procedure: the consequence of which was, that the families of Capet and Hapsburg agreed to bury their mutual jealousies of 280 years' duration, and unite in cordial alliance against the upstart monarch of Brandenburg and the insular masters of the ocean.

Thus began one of the hottest contests of modern times. Russia, Poland, and Saxony threw their weight into the Austrian scale. The south of Europe remained neutral. Frederick commenced hostilities with the victories of Lowositz and Prague; which, followed by the calamities at Kollin, were again supported by his splendid triumphs at Rossbach and Lissa. England was at first far less fortunate; for the French had resolved to attack Hanover; and the Duke of Cumberland, after displaying no small amount of incapacity, fell into the singular convention of Closter Seven, which left the electorate in their hands for a time, as a basis of operations against the King of Prussia. Throughout campaign after campaign, the latter manifested indomitable energies and strategic talents,—never more strikingly displayed than when, according to all human calculations, his cause

was upon the verge of ruin. He had to encounter the armies of Austria, generally well commanded; those of France, full of active spirit, not less brilliant in attack than irresistible through their science in war; the ruder platoons of Russia, ready to endure almost any amount of fatigue or danger; besides those of Sweden, which perpetually increased the number of his assailants, and compelled him to divide his forces. After losing the battle of Plañian, which cost him so many and such important lives, it was marvellous to find him deriving the materials for final success from the very results of his disasters. In the struggle of A.D. 1757 there were altogether three-quarters of a million of the finest troops in Europe opposed to himself only, at the head of 260,000 men. His more remote provinces he was obliged to abandon, and secure the centre of his territories. The conflicts of Jaderndorf, Olmutz, Zorndorf, Hockkirchen, Kunersdorf, and Maxen, were some of them reverses which would have destroyed any other military genius than his own; yet, within two or three years, every league of lost ground was recovered. Dresden was besieged, though fruitlessly. Silesia and Saxony were maintained after the affairs of Leignitz and the grand victory of Torgau, 3d November A.D. 1761, which conveyed the shock of his prowess into every hostile quarter. Even the Russians withdrew from before Colberg in Eastern Pomerania into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in the western districts of the same province, were forced to take refuge under the batteries of Stralsund. During four successive seasons in the field, one of his flanks was always covered by the masterly manœuvres and frequent triumphs of his follower and admirer Ferdinand of Brunswick. The victory of Minden over the French under Contades and Broglio, in A.D. 1759, had checked France, and might have been productive of more decided consequences had the British general, Lord George Sackville, promptly obeyed orders. As it was, the accession to power in England of William Pitt brought the largest accession of real fortune to the struggling Frederick. That great statesman lifted his country and its allies from the depths of despondency, superinduced by the

mismanagement of his predecessors. The war, under his auspices, was waged by sea and land, not merely in Germany, but in America, on the coasts of that continent, and in the East Indies. Admiral Boscawen burned the ships of his enemy in the harbour of Louisbourg, and made the town surrender. Ticonderago was taken by Amherst; and no sooner was the Lake of Champlain open, than Saunders ascended the St. Lawrence, and appeared before Quebec. Johnson captured Fort Niagara, and threatened Montreal. The French, thus attacked on every side, were unable to withstand the power and enthusiasm of their adversaries. The lower capital of Canada then witnessed the achievements and fall of General Wolfe,—a young hero of extraordinary acuteness and bravery, whose soul was equally superior to pride and suspicion; and who, in his magnanimity, as well as in the circumstances of his death, may be said to have resembled Epaminondas. Saunders was returning with the lifeless body, when on approaching his native shores, he just arrived to witness the naval discomfiture of Conflans by Admiral Hawke, in the Bay of Quiberon. Throughout the East Indies, equal gallantry displayed itself. Clive and Watson smote the tottering Mogul: the former defeating his faithless Soubahdah at Plassey—that scene of triumph which proved to Great Britain and Shah Allum Gheer what Arbela and Issus were to Alexander and Darius. Calcutta had been stormed and taken with astounding rapidity. Chandernagore, with all its boasted artillery, changed masters within three hours from the signal of assault. Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, Guzerat, Arcot, Caracal, and Pondicherry bowed before a supremacy which, in the lapse of another generation, was to be yet further extended. When Spain at length joined in the fray, it was only to lose the Manillas in the east, and the Havannah in the west. Success had already wound up the resolution of England, prior to the acquisition of the latter laurels, to support the Prussian monarch to the last gasp; for he was considered very justly the grand patron and protector of Protestantism. The death of George II. had indeed cooled the zeal of the court; but it was merely through Toryism fancying that the grapes, so long thought

sour when Whiggery promised to be immortal, were now beginning to seem sweeter, when office might be within reach from the stolidity of George III. Frederick meanwhile fought on from one ghastly scene of carnage and courage to another. His exhaustion, however, had begun to be apparent towards the termination of A.D. 1761; after Schweidnitz was surprised by the Austrians, in October of that year, and Colberg, in Pomerania, had fallen before Romanzow and the Russians, rather more than two months later. The sudden decease of their Empress Elizabeth, on the 5th of the following January, just saved him. Her nephew and successor, Peter III., Duke of Holstein, immediately abandoned the coalition; almost adoring, as he professed to do, the heroism of the modern Hannibal; and being partly influenced by a secret expectation of obtaining the duchy of Sleswick from Denmark, to which he conceived himself entitled. That he was also under personal obligations to Frederick must not be forgotten; but his reign was as transient as an autumnal shower. Having been brought up a Lutheran, he despised the Greek communion; smiled at the long beards of its clergy; laughed at their images or sacred pictures, and ventured to live with his mistress rather than his consort—the too celebrated Catharine. It was imagined moreover that he meditated the confinement of this princess in a convent, with the substitution in her stead of the guilty Countess Woronzoff. If such were his real designs, the masculine mind of his wife anticipated them. A speedy revolution dethroned, arrested, and destroyed her weaker husband; from whose impure grasp the empress snatched the imperial reins, and governed the Russian dominions through a memorable and protracted period. Without entertaining towards the Prussian sovereign any sentiments of extravagance, she confirmed the late pacification which had been made with him; and simply recalled the 20,000 auxiliaries her late partner had sent to his assistance. The victories of Reichenbach, Schweidnitz, and Freiberg, once more brought Frederick to his feet, in the deadly wrestle with Austria. Pitt had indignantly withdrawn from power before the triumphs of his policy had become fully

known. British prowess was culminating every where. Even the African colonies of France, on the Senegal, and in the island of Goree, were captured as early as A.D. 1758; after which successes, those naval squadrons, recently enabled to beat Admiral Braddock, and under Richelieu take Minorca, almost entirely disappeared from the seas.

The peace of Versailles, 10th Feb. A.D. 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and five days later, at Hubertsburg, in Saxony, between Austria and Prussia, produced slight alterations in the territorial arrangements of Germany. Maria Theresa succeeded in preserving her states, with the exception of those which, during the Silesian wars, her rivals had wrested from her. But the monarchy of her grand adversary, instead of being divided or humiliated, issued forth from the furnace intact, although much exhausted. England aggrandised her colonial possessions, and recovered Minorca. North America might be called her own to the Mississippi and the bay of Honduras; besides the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Tobago, Domenica; and in Africa, Senegal. *Europe*, for an interval, without exactly changing her sword into a ploughshare, or her spear into a pruning-hook, at least laid down her weapons, and took an interest in agitations of another kind. An enlargement of the results of Protestantism was preparing underneath the surface of society, as well as looming in the distant horizon. Prussia represented in one sense its material personification; for with an absolute government over the rights of individuals, it had risen out of a chaos of robbery and confiscation, discarding upon settled resolution every element of the Catholic religion. Von Rotteck rightly portrays it as the rock of Lutheranism. But, unhappily, the mischiefs of that ecclesiastical revolt which affected the entire face and character of the sixteenth century, are not to be limited to two or three hundred years of confusion, nor confined within the limits of a few countries or a single continent. The convulsions of the moral earthquake were and are to be felt upon a wider scale, as the populations augment, through which the ingredients of the fire-blast, whether visibly or otherwise, are diffused. From the Treaty of

Westphalia, that basis upon which alone society can permanently repose has had to be managed as a matter of compromise; except in those states whose profession is universally Catholic, or very nearly so. Nor is this all; for the poison of that principle which leaves the human mind to the guidance of its own private judgment in spiritual as well as temporal affairs will be most likely diffusive almost every where; as, indeed, it must be from its inherent nature, falling in as it does with the dictates of pride and passion, unless when met and overcome by the counteraction of supernatural graces. One consequence therefore is, that even where open apostasy is shuddered at, error comes to be held in such subtle solution throughout the social atmosphere, that it corrupts, or weakens, or distorts the most honest consciences; and, under peculiar circumstances, appears, as it were, to protestantise not a few portions of Catholic Christendom itself. Loose ideas get tolerated, if not entertained, as to the binding obligations of ecclesiastical authority. Independence of thought lapses insensibly into latitudinarianism. The flame of faith grows fainter, or flickers, as though it were burning in some nearly exhausted receiver. As the shadows of this perilous twilight steal over the soul, evils insensibly awake, stretch themselves, and walk abroad. Suggestions and ideas form into shape; abominations are born out of grounds suspected before as being productive of nothing but good. Reason comes to criticise revelation; or, in course of time, even to leer or sneer at it. Example is contagious: the clergy seem alarmed; warnings are sounded with sufficient promptitude and ability to arrest the mischief either wholly or partially, or perhaps not. Much will depend upon a variety of incidents which may tell either way, since there is generally found a fashion in every thing. Meanwhile many perish, many are only injured; but the majority will be more or less affected. Affairs then proceed from bad to worse, as was the case throughout the period just now under review. Tens and hundreds of thousands, passing under the denomination of orthodox, are so only in name. Upon unseen subjects they expend scarcely a thought. The present world, in fact, absorbs their whole

outer and inner man. Sensualism and sin wax daily more and more rampant. Obedience and fidelity, not to say love and fervour, cool towards the Church of Almighty God; political and civil economy supersede piety and theology. With scepticism, or approaches to it, profligacy invariably gains an upper hand; after which they mutually act and react upon each other. All this flows from omitting to make religion the one main basis of society. There may occur the most perfect development of mere material prosperity, whether in an absolute autocracy, a constitutional monarchy, or a free and independent republic. In any case, illusion and disappointment will be the ultimate results, involving the tyranny either of a single despot or a hydra-headed majority, together with the gradual extinction of that element which holds the human family in union, namely, subordination to lawful authority.

Austria suffered in this way, when the conceited and shallow son of Maria Theresa had become persuaded that Frederick the Great, with his friend Voltaire, were the genuine luminaries of the age. Under the sounding titles of toleration, liberality, and the reign of reason, Joseph II. would fain have improved upon the Christian religion, instructed his best instructor, and illuminated the solar orb with the candles of modern philosophy. He attempted to touch every thing, and teach every body; handling with unskilful presumption agriculture, commerce, the finances, legislation, military, natural, and civil sciences, the Church of course, monastic institutions, the privileges of the clergy, and the prejudices of the multitude. Now and then his notions were correct; but, taken as a whole, the Josephine laws were the quackeries of a mountebank, imposing generally upon others, and not unseldom upon himself. The dissensions and agitations of the empire for the last three-quarters of a century may be traced entirely to his most mischievous innovations; which brought the Pope himself upon a pilgrimage to Vienna, in his paternal though then fruitless solicitude for the welfare of Germany. The real political morality of the new school may be gathered from the seizure of the Bukowina, the worth-

less war with Turkey, the partition of Poland, and the avidity manifested with regard to the Bavarian succession. The elder electoral house of Wittelsbach, after an existence of nearly five hundred years, came to an end, in the person of Maximilian Joseph, who died on the last day but one of the year A.D. 1777. Charles Theodore Von Sulzbach, Elector-Palatine of the Rhine, head of the next branch, succeeded according to compact; but the emperor not only forthwith occupied the lower countries, but claimed an enormous portion of Upper Bavaria held as a fief of Bohemia." Frederick, however, interfered, and arranged, after a bloodless campaign, the treaty of Teschen, under French and Russian mediation, in May A.D. 1779; whereby Joseph and Maria Theresa had to rest satisfied with a territory of about forty square miles between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salsa. His fame was now at its zenith; nor can it be denied that, with regard to the external welfare of his kingdom, the conqueror of Silesia had not laboured in vain. Amidst the wastes of Brandenburg, he erected above six hundred new villages, and settled in them 42,600 foreign families, exclusive of similar establishments, founded at his own expense, in other quarters. With praiseworthy care he had improved the breeds of cattle; introduced mulberry-trees, silk-worms, dyeing-herbs, tobacco, various fruits, the culture of vegetables, and particularly the potato; stimulated every species of trade and manufacture; and augmented the national revenues, without imposing fresh taxes or including the recent acquisitions. Population more than doubled throughout Prussia. Immense sums were expended in quickening dormant energies by pecuniary premiums; in facilitating internal traffic and general intercourse by the formation of roads and canals, connecting or deepening large rivers, and founding the port of Swinemunde on the Baltic, as also in the improvement of administrative regulations. The use of torture was every where abolished; banks were established in all the great cities, with ramifications extending to provincial towns, so as to create and support a sound system of credit. His army, the great pillar of his power, comprised 200,000 picked soldiers at the time of

his death, and cost the state thirteen millions of dollars per annum. The treasury meanwhile had flourished, as the capital and provinces grew in industry and resources; with all which material prosperity, Frederick ruled in the true spirit of Protestant despotism. Professedly, there was impartial toleration for every shade of opinion; their exterior rites were respected, from those of the most fanatical Calvinism to the most august solemnities of Catholicity; even the Jesuits remained unmolested, and had the instruction of those who were the children of the Church committed to them. Yet, in reality, the entire affair depended upon the will of an autocrat, who gloried in being the Julian of his day. A single military order might, at any moment, reverse the scene. In fact, religion possessed no place whatever in the national mind. That which descended from heaven, as the greatest gift to man, was ignored rather than recognised; patronised when not openly insulted; and internally despised, hated, or rejected.

In France, as is well known, the same fatality prevailed. The liberties of the Gallican Church had planted a worm at the root of her connection with the grand centre of ecclesiastical unity from the date of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, under Charles VII. The Calvinism of the next century, its religious wars, the personal libertinism of Henry IV. and the majority of the Bourbons, the extraordinary policy of Cardinal Richelieu in his support of Gustavus Adolphus, the haughty assumptions of Louis XIV. towards the Holy See, exasperated by public misfortunes and a general corruption of morals, altogether sapped the faith of that noble country, which may always be considered as the heart of the continent. The king and his mistresses, the ministers, people, and parliaments, floundered on from financial embarrassment to growing internal disorganisation, from the pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle to the attempt of Damien on the life of his sovereign, A.D. 1757. Jansenism had been spreading for three generations among the more thoughtful of the laity, clergy, and even the hierarchy of the realm. Monasteries and convents were by no means free from its presence, clothed

as it often was in the garb of piety, and sometimes the greatest apparent fervour. The bull Unigenitus should for ever have extirpated the mischief, had its objects been genuine Catholics, mindful of those evangelical commands which enforce implicit obedience to the Chair of St. Peter. It was issued A.D. 1713, and, with some brief intervals, shook the whole fabric of France for many years. Her metropolis and provincial capitals, the communal and rural districts, became divided into Acceptants and Recusants. Amidst annual tempests of clamour, irritation, attacks, and reprisals, infidelity and profligacy shared a temporary yet most calamitous triumph between them. Many dignitaries were no doubt too rich; the crown domineered when it ought to have conciliated, and temporised when it ought to have been firm. Obedience to spiritual authority could scarcely be mentioned, from the howl of scorn or the storm of ridicule which its mere name elicited. Literature had degenerated into an intellectual leprosy. The nobility were corrupt; the commonalty stood waiting in ignorant yet suppressed agony, until the catastrophe might unveil its extent and true character, after the watchwords of Reason, Liberty, Fraternity, and Independence, should have ceased to rend the air. Rousseau and the Encyclopædists were the idols and oracles of the age. Rome received her full instalment of malignity and calumny, in the language of Protestantism, as the Babylon of mystical abominations. Benedict XIV. had worn the tiara through a long and illustrious pontificate; obtaining the respect of the whole world by his extraordinary acquirements, his talents, his sanctity, his prudence, his mildness, and his moderation. Clement XIII. possessed both piety and courage: under whose reign the surges of public opinion against the order of St. Ignatius beat with an infernal violence. The Jesuits were not to be endured by an age which had winked at Gallicanism, Jansenism, Molinism, the supremacy of courtesans, and every form of worldliness or latitudinarianism, so long as they undermined, in their several operations, the only true system of spiritual authority. They had, therefore, to encounter the most polished ridicule and sarcasm from all the literary classes

in addition to the hatred of licentious nobles and sovereigns, and the persecution of philosophers and ministers in high places. Calumny also awoke with her thousand charges and ten thousand insinuations; the follies or extravagances of individuals came to be accumulated upon the whole body; nor may the position be deemed a fair one for any institution to be placed in, when it cannot take a single false step without its being at once fatal. Whatever the order did, or omitted to do, furnished matter for accusation. Pombal in Portugal was their bitterest enemy; for not only did he abhor them as the Corinthian columns of Catholicity, but he imagined that they had interfered with a monopoly of port wine, which he had introduced for his own private benefit. His administration in secular matters had thrown a gleam of transient prosperity across the decaying fortunes of his country; for he had reduced the taxes, abolished abuses, augmented the revenues to 3,500,000*l.* per annum, cleared off every cruzado of debt, rebuilt Lisbon, of which two-thirds had been destroyed in the tremendous earthquake, revived the army and navy, raised the kingdom to her natural rank amongst European powers, reformed the entire administration of her colonies, encouraged internal traffic and foreign commerce, planted various manufactories, and accumulated an enormous treasure within the royal coffers. But the Society of Jesus, when the six provinces were trembling from the Minho to the Algarves, had dared to preach, like an apostle of old, about "justice, and chastity, and a judgment to come" (Acts xxiv. 25); which declamations might be resented as attacks on the sacred person of the king, since Don Joseph had peculiarly exposed himself to such reproaches. The [illegible] ous but inconvenient preachers were therefore silenced. Then followed the conspiracy of Aviero, with an attempt at assassination, A.D. 1759, by firing a couple of shots [illegible] the carriage of his majesty, returning home at night from one of his infamous intrigues. The enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, of Malagrida, was made to involve, most unjustly, that glorious association of saints and heroes who had crushed heresy, shed the light of Christianity over India, China, and Japan, and developed the religious

dise of Paraguay. Its fathers were now cruelly enticed and entangled into disastrous connections with sundry commercial houses at Paris and in other places. They were banished from Portugal under circumstances of revolting cruelty,—Protestant historians being themselves horrified at their treatment. The court and parliament of France, under the Duc de Choiseul, a mighty patron of the new school, were little more gentle in their conduct than those in power at Lisbon. The rules of their institute were shown up, as it was thought, before an age wrapt in the adoration of its own wisdom and excellence. Their colleges were dispersed; the bond of union with their general was dissolved, their property confiscated; their members were provided with scanty pensions never punctually paid. Whoever struck at them or tormented them was held to have rendered good service to God and mankind.

Nor were matters much better in Spain. The councils of Madrid had been long under French influence. Ferdinand VI., dying without issue in August A.D. 1759, was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, of Naples, as Charles III. On this event, Don Philip of Parma ought to have ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, whilst his territories were to revert to Austria, according to the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle; instead of which, as the eldest son of Charles was insane, his second was to follow him in swaying the Spanish sceptre, and Ferdinand, his third, assumed the Neapolitan crown. Philip himself and the court of Vienna were induced to acquiesce in the altered arrangement through the potent mediation of France, intent at that time upon realising the famous family compact of the Bourbons. Charles III. therefore adopted the general policy of persecuting the Jesuits. Their property and papers were seized, their persons arrested and banished, their beautiful dominion in South America was crushed, just as the heartlessness of boyhood destroys the most exquisite butterfly. His advisers, Aranda, Campomanes, and Florida Blanca, deemed themselves little less than illuminated sages, when they thus contributed to accelerate the avatar of rationalism and revolution. Clement XIII. in vain remonstrated. Thousands of the detested society were thrown

the bounty and protection of the Holy See in a state of destitution and infirmity, exactly as if they had been so many convicted criminals. His Holiness met with the grossest insults from every sovereign of the House of Bourbon. The Duke of Parma had sanctioned several secular and spiritual innovations in his duchies, originally, it must be remembered, fiefs of the Church; upon which an excommunication naturally ensued, A.D. 1768; but which this petty potentate was enabled to baffle and defy, hounded on as he was into secure contumacy by the greatest powers of Europe. How could they wonder afterwards, that they had to reap as they had sown? France, Spain, Naples, Parma, Modena, Venice, Portugal, lifted up their voices in one united chorus for the abolition of the order of St. Ignatius. Avignon and Benevento were seized, Castro Ronciglione and Ferrara claimed. The pontiff replied, with the spirit of an inspired confessor, "I have done my duty; I know how small my secular means are; but were they less, I would much rather terminate my life in sorrow and misery than dishonour my grey hairs on the brink of the grave by a betrayal of my conscience." In addressing Maria Theresa, he added, "Prayers and tears are my weapons, in honouring externally the potentates whom God is pleased to employ for the castigation of His Church." Yet even Austria was deaf to these touching and pensive appeals; and when, in another year, the great bell of the Capitol announced his dissolution, every individual at Rome bewailed his loss. His successor, Ganganelli, Clement XIV., endeavoured to avoid his destiny. He yielded alone to the exigency of circumstances, fulfilling his functions in all other respects with the most scrupulous attention and accuracy. The pecuniary incumbrances of the Patrimony had swollen to 74,000,000 of scudi, which he provided for by a revival of agriculture and commerce, in connection with the most rigid economy. At length Austria demanded the suppression of the obnoxious fathers. His Holiness, foreseeing the uselessness of further opposition, gave way, as if yielding up his life, A.D. 1773. Thus were the watch-dogs surrendered to the wolves; the latter licking their lips with jubilation. Deism and Protestantism shouted for joy. Fre

derick gladly received and welcomed the exiles, from the mere prudential recollection that they could not fail to confer at least intellectual advantages upon his subjects; whilst at the same time, his regardlessness of all religious dogmas thus exhibited, as he conceived, the natural and essential superiority of philosophy over Christianity. England stroked her self-complacency also, only in another way. Hume and Hartley, with a host of others, performed for her what Diderot and his associates had done for the continent. Throughout the eighteenth century, and in fact from the overthrow of the Stuarts, the rights of private judgment had borne their blossoms and fruits. Boldness of investigation had been carried into every department of theology and morals by Locke and Cudworth, until the broad worldliness of Hoadley and the Hanoverian divines overlaid or deleted any vestiges that might otherwise remain of piety in public or private life. Erastianism and Arianism overran the Anglican establishment; the Nonjurors, with their small dogmatism, withered into obscurity; the universities became renowned for harlotry and hard drinking; the thirty-nine articles were subscribed, as Gibbon says, "with a sigh or a smile;" and the trumpet of Methodism only once more prepared the way for the vagaries of Puritans and Evangelicals. Material prosperity alone throve. Walpole, through his long pacific administration, had "laid up goods for many years;" nor had the Pelhams perpetrated any real mischief in tampering with the springs of national industry. The interlude of Charles Edward, in attempting to recover the throne of his family, informed mankind, that when the choice lay between royal fools and royal brutes, the British would prefer the latter upon condition of their rejecting transubstantiation. The Seven Years' War augmented the debt to 146,000,000*l.* sterling; but the trident of the ocean was in the hands of George III., and Toryism soon resolved to tax the colonies.

Bute, Bedford, Rockingham, Grenville, Grafton, and North, instead of looking across the Atlantic with the eyes of statesmen, indulged notions and wishes like those of Midas, that whatever they there touched might turn into gold. They moreover served a master whose ears meta-

phorically were as long as those of the fabulous monarch of Phrygia; his whole soul was one colossal prejudice. The Stamp Act was the first stone thrown with any decided vigour, A.D. 1765, which was followed up within two years by duties on tea, paper, glass, and colours. American opposition assumed shape and form with a most menacing aspect, and with the philosopher Benjamin Franklin, who had drawn down lightning from the clouds, to direct its procedure. Massachusetts and Boston stood forth in the foreground when Lord North took office as premier, A.D. 1770, and seemed ready to withdraw the hateful imposts, could the colonists only be cajoled into the concession that, under their circumstances, taxation without representation was not unrightful in principle. Such abstractions, however, must become objects of abhorrence when the minds of men have got highly excited; the more so, from their very indefiniteness investing them with an air of mystery and monstrosity. Half measures were adopted until the genius of insurrection was fairly invoked. The Boston Port Bill passed in March A.D. 1774, preparatory to the tug of war. The conciliatory propositions of Chatham were rejected the next year, after which the first blood was spilt at Lexington, in April A.D. 1775.

The battle of Bunker's Hill might well have dissipated the idea, that a few regiments would suffice to conquer America. A fruitless expedition against Canada, on the part of the provincials, threw the latter on a series of defensive campaigns, in which Washington, the Fabius of his country, won immortal renown, not by gaining brilliant victories, but through the heroic and unbroken perseverance of his untarnished patriotism. Mutual animosity had long generated a plan for total separation from the mother-country; and as the result of many protracted discussions, the Declaration by the Thirteen United States of their Independence bears date on the 4th of July A.D. 1776. Some months before, Howe had quitted Halifax at the head of 30,000 men, with which he penetrated into the midland districts; whilst Burgoyne marched from Canada against New York, and Clinton attacked the Carolinas. General Lee frustrated the last attempt, and preserved the

of self-reproach and national mortification prevented them at first from perceiving this fact; whilst every where besides throughout Christendom, it was amidst shouts of exulting acclamation that the standard of the Stars and Stripes rose over the summits of the Alleghanies.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1398-1792.

DENMARK AND NORWAY—SWEDEN—POLAND—RUSSIA—PARTITION-TREATIES AND THEIR RESULTS.

THE Scandinavian kingdoms had been nominally held together for several generations by the Union of Calmar, which broke to pieces before the first quarter of the sixteenth century terminated. The only wonder was, that it had continued so long. Denmark was the leading member of the confederacy, and had elected its kings from the house of Holstein-Oldenburg ever since A.D. 1447. The confusions of civil war and national jealousies seem, however, hardly to have ceased throughout the entire period. The Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, entertained towards each other the most intense hatred; particularly the two former, whose contentions always wore a character of deadly rivalry. The great family of the Stures administered the affairs of Sweden; claiming to do so by a kind of hereditary right, which Christiern II. attempted to extinguish both by arms and treaty, A.D. 1520. Russia had proffered her rather perilous assistance towards the subjugation of patriotism at Stockholm, where the axe of the executioner shed such torrents of blood, that the entire capital and country rose up against the Danish tyrant. But the source of his unpopularity lay still deeper. As early as the reign of Eric, the immediate successor of Margaret, the Swedes had revolted, and chosen their grand-marshal Charles Canuteson, descended from the royal race of Bonde, to be first their regent and finally their recognised *sovereign*. After his abdication and recal, his nephew *Steen Sture* headed the party for national independ-

ence, which in fact struggled with the Danish [illegible] the accession of the Oldenburghers for more than [illegible] years. Throughout the contest, the Church, in the [illegible] of the Archbishop of Upsal, could generally turn the [illegible] from the wealth and influence attached to that [illegible] the pregnant abilities of its occupants. Trollo, the [illegible] then wearing the primatial mitre, had opposed the [illegible] Steen Sture, and was persecuted for doing so by the [illegible] where at the crisis a majority sided with the insurrection[illegible] ists. The spiritual pestilence of Lutheranism was [illegible] rapidly spreading over the north; and the archbishop [illegible] ing appealed to Pope Leo X. for redress, his Holiness [illegible] communicated the patriots, and committed the execution of the Bull to Christiern, who was brother-in-law to the Emperor Charles V. The Danish monarch, nothing [illegible] fulfilled his mission with terrible promptitude and cruelty. The new opinions in religion therefore became more acceptable than might otherwise have been the case to excited and ignorant multitudes, assured by their crafty leaders that resistance against oppression would be rendered successful by a reception of heresy. There appeared, moreover, a hero at hand, ready to prove what was asserted by his own irresistible sword. Gustavus Vasa was the great-nephew of Canuteson, and therefore nearly related to the late administrator; for the second Steen Sture had already fallen. Circumstances soon placed him on the crest of the popular wave. His father had been murdered on the scaffold; he escaped himself to the mines and mountains of Dalecarlia. At first working as a common labourer with his countrymen underground, he gradually disclosed his rank; won all hearts by his talents, eloquence, and that magical spell of intellectual sorcery which almost creates the agency for effecting its purposes: led them forthwith against the governor of the province, whom with the garrison they massacred without mercy; so that, having thus baptised their banners in gore, retreat from their enterprise was impossible, and it was necessary either to conquer or die. Exploit followed on exploit; Gustavus found himself victorious in every quarter; partisans flocked in from one end of the realm to the other. His supremacy daily

increased, until, in A.D. 1523, the crown at Stockholm rewarded the intrepidity of his achievements. So general was the revolution, that it crossed immediately to Copenhagen. Christiern was deposed from the thrones of both Denmark and Norway; his uncle, the Duke of Holstein and Sleswig, being elected in his stead, as Frederick I. But for this advancement he had to pay dearly. The throne was not hereditary; and therefore, when the nobility and clergy had nominated their prince, the object was to exact from him the hardest conditions to which he could be brought to submit. In this instance, he found himself obliged to restore to the magnates their mortgaged properties, and confirm by law the bondage of the peasantry. A council of state also hampered every royal intention and measure; while such was the position and arrogance of the aristocracy, that they reserved the right of declaring war against their own crown, should the capitulation made by the latter ever seem to be violated. Frederick governed with one-sided mildness and wisdom, as did his son Christiern III., A.D. 1533-59; upon protestant principles, operating in Denmark precisely as they worked in England. The Church, being rich and powerful, had an enemy in every nobleman who wished to replenish his purse or aggrandise his power at her expense. It became therefore the most popular thing in the world to establish the novel opinions of a self-styled reformation. The sovereign acted with the senate, so that both sat down to the feast of confiscation together. Orders were issued for the arrest of the Catholic prelates, with the alternative of martyrdom or conformity. The entirety of their large possessions fell into the coffers of their spoliators. Here and there were found faithful souls, the Sir Thomas Mores and the Bishop Fishers of their country; but upon the whole, so reckless was the persecution, and so barefaced the plunder, that Luther himself remonstrated at the scandals they brought upon his cause. License universally prevailed, as every barrier of moral restraint was broken down. The constitution lost its equipoise through the destruction of the episcopal order; the remaining privileges of the people were crushed beneath the usury

of the now resistless aristocracy; those who loved their religion emigrated to the Netherlands or expired in prison: it was compulsory to do so, or subscribe an heretical confession. Nor did the oppression cease until reaction had set in; and through another revolution the crown of Denmark was rendered one of the most absolute in Europe. Christiern III. had been obliged to renounce the right of elevating citizens to the rank of nobles. The latter, thus limited in number, fancied that their monopoly would keep them more securely at the helm of affairs; in which their selfishness overreached itself. Even the diets went out of use from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1660. The Norwegian provinces were united with the Danish sceptre in A.D. 1532; throughout their extent Lutheranism was also introduced by force of arms.

Norway had been divided into a number of petty principalities until the ninth century, when their general amalgamation occurred; although little is known of its internal history until the Union of Calmar, A.D. 1397, except that the feudal tenures never appear to have struck root upon so peculiar a soil. Frederick II., son of Christiern III., conquered the brave inhabitants of Dithmarsen, ardently attached to liberty; and in a war of seven years against Sweden, A.D. 1563-70, acquired Jempteland, Schonen, Härjedalen, Halland, Bleckengen, and Gothland, in return for a resignation of all pretensions on the part of his family as against the representatives of Gustavus Vasa. Such was the peace of Stettin, which his successor, Christiern IV., developed into a source of no inconsiderable prosperity, until the victories of the Swedish generals Torstenson and Horn, supported by a Dutch fleet, reversed the whole scene. Denmark had dared to provoke her ancient rival, for which the penalty paid was both prompt and permanent. All that had been gained at Stettin was lost by the treaty of Bromsebrae, A.D. 1645; confirmed by the subsequent pacification of Westphalia, with the additions of Bremen and Verden: it was from this juncture that Sweden culminated and Denmark declined. Christiern, however, laid the blame on his factious and overbearing nobility, a charge so universally

knowledged, that his son Frederick III., with the full consent of his subjects, changed his elective and precarious authority into an absolute prerogative, to be thenceforward for ever hereditary in his family, A.D. 1660. The realm might then have recovered its ascendency in the Baltic, had it not been for the dispute between the royal and ducal lines of Holstein-Gottorp. The founder of the last was Adolphus, the younger son of Frederick I., who received from his elder brother, A.D. 1544, half of Sleswick and Holstein, holding the one as a fief of Denmark, and the other as belonging to the German empire. It was attempted, at the arrangement of Roschild, to abrogate the allegiance of Sleswick; but without any advantageous results, since for thirty years, A.D. 1659-89, neither the peace of Copenhagen, nor the contract of Rendsburg, nor the treaties of Fontainebleau and Altona, could terminate the paltry contention. It was natural, under the circumstances, that the dukes of Holstein should act with Sweden, through their jealousy and abhorrence of Danish supremacy. One of them married Hedwiga Sophia, elder sister of Charles XII.; their son, Charles Frederick, became the husband of Anne Petrowna, eldest daughter to Peter the Great; and the issue of this imperial alliance, Charles Peter Ulric, as the adopted nephew of the Empress Elizabeth, succeeded her on the Russian throne, under the title of Peter III., consort to Catharine II. At length the ancient claims of Holstein-Gottorp were adjusted by the exchange of Oldenbourg and Delmenhorst, of which the former was conferred as a duchy on the younger branch of the family resident at Eutin, and administering the secularised bishopric of Lubeck. Including Holstein in its integrity, as at present arranged, the population of Denmark may be taken as about equal to that of Scotland; its revenues of 1,500,000*l.* sterling are encumbered with a debt of less than 4,000,000*l.*, with a territory of rather more than 20,000 square miles, exclusive of Norway. Hence, notwithstanding its colonies in the east and west,—its 40,000 troops and twenty ships of the line, constituting its naval and military forces, could never be kept in activity, even during a few campaigns, without sub-

sidies. The Christierns and Fredericks reigned alternately and in succession; nor did their history present any events of importance after France and England had guaranteed them the possession of Sleswick on the 14th of July, A.D. 1720.

In fact the glory of Sweden had taken the wind out of their sails. This kingdom presented another instance of what Protestantism was to cost its professors. Gustavus Vasa erected his fame, as well as his throne, upon the ruins of religious truth and ecclesiastical spoliations; his personal income indeed rarely exceeded 24,000 marks, whilst his expenses were 60,000; but the wealth of the royal treasury, with which he beat down his enemies and made the crown hereditary instead of elective in his own family, at the Diet of Westerïas, A.D. 1544, altogether flowed from the enormous property which he had wrested from the clergy and innumerable conventual establishments. His agent in the labours of spiritual innovation was the very counterpart of the English Cranmer, gaining the primacy of Upsal by an apostasy, and subjugating the pastors of the people into becoming mercenary agents of government. The malediction of heaven appeared in the fraternal discord of the royal children: Erick XIV. was deposed after the commission of murder with his own hand; his brother, John III., succeeded, who had allied himself with a pious Catholic princess of the Jagellons; the good sense of the new sovereign had opened his eyes to the hollowness and mischiefs of heresy, and the queen, as may well be imagined, wished for nothing so much as the conversion of her husband to the true faith: in time, and through the grace of God, she had her desires realised. The priests remaining, together with those usurping their positions, were assembled, apparently for the purpose of supplying several vacant sees, and particularly the archbishopric void by the decease of its late traitorous occupant, when King John fairly avowed before them all that heresy and schism had blighted the welfare of every country they had visited; that the Confession of Augsburg was a quicksand and a delusion; that the Roman Church was alone Catholic and Apostolic, being, as he now saw, confirmed by the Scrip

tures and the blood of so many martyrs. His younger brother Charles still adhered to Protestantism, as a path of ambition pretty certain, in the judgment of the Lutherans, to place him on the Swedish throne: it ultimately proved so, since the proprietors of ecclesiastical estates could never be permanently satisfied with their titles under any other circumstances. Nevertheless, until his death, John III. maintained his ground, and procured the election of his eldest son, Sigismund, to the thorny sceptre of Poland, A.D. 1587. Five years after his coronation, on the decease of his father, Sigismund returned home and assumed the crown of Sweden, A.D. 1592, which led to a violent and sanguinary contest, since the Protestants had already found themselves strong enough to impose upon him severe conditions, of which the chief one was, that the younger brother of his father should officiate as regent during his absence: in itself it was almost tantamount to a deposition; and at the close of the sixteenth century the final result of the war was adverse to the claims of the Polish monarch. His victorious uncle, Charles Duke of Sudermania, formally took possession of the kingdom, which was confirmed to him and his heirs so long as they adhered to the novel opinions. Catholicism was suppressed with a rough and merciless bigotry, by no means extinct in the present day. The son of Charles IX. was Gustavus Adolphus, who commenced his reign at only eighteen, A.D. 1611. The nation was absorbed in hostilities against Denmark, Poland, and Russia; but by an arrangement concluded at Stolbowa, A.D. 1617, he acquired from the new dynasty of the Czars Kexholme or Carelia, now Wybourg, and Ingria, in addition to Esthonia, which had been in the possession of Sweden for many years, so that the Russians were thus entirely excluded from the Baltic; this left him at liberty to conquer from his cousin Sigismund nearly the whole of Livonia, with large portions of Polish Prussia, including Elbing, Memel, and Pillau. During the well-managed minority of his daughter Christina, those incorporations of Jempteland, Hürjedalen, and Halland, with some others, were won from Denmark, which rendered the kingdom more compact and commensurate with the influence it had

obtained in Germany through the acquisitions of Bremen, Verden, and Pomerania. Profitable yet rude commerce began to engage attention; exemption from tolls in the Sound and the Belt had been stipulated for in recent treaties. Germans and Dutch were encouraged to settle throughout the country, so as to break in upon the monopoly of the Hansetowns, which imported the raw productions of Sweden, and returned them in a manufactured state. Christina became a Catholic, and resigned in favour of her first cousin, Charles Gustavus, the next Protestant heir, Count Palatine at Deuxponts Kleeburg, whose patrimonial inheritance consisted of two castles, one humble, with nine villages and a half, but whose energies now shook the north of Europe: his mother was the sister of the great Gustavus Adolphus. Charles X. had no sooner reached his capital, A.D. 1654, than Denmark and Poland coalesced for recovering some of their losses. The young hero roused himself like an insulted lion, besieged Copenhagen, seized the fertile territories of Bahus, Bleckenger, Schonen, and the island of Rugen, together with some unconquered districts which the Polish king, John Casimir Vasa, had until now claimed in Livonia. By the treaties of Roschild, Copenhagen, and Oliva, the Elector of Brandenburg became independent Duke of Prussia, and Frederick III. of Denmark absolute sovereign in his dominions, A.D. 1660: Poland conceding its feudal supremacy over the former; the latter taking fair advantage, as we have already seen, of the opprobrium incurred by his turbulent and intolerable aristocracy. Charles died at the end of his thirty-eighth year, before these political affairs could be altogether settled; but his death produced no impediment to their completion.

His son and successor, Charles XI., was a minor in his fifth year, under the guardianship of his mother, Hedwiga of Holstein. She so conducted his education, that he grew up well qualified to be an adept in the arts of political dissimulation. With immense personal strength and accomplishments, his mind had made an early resolution to master men rather than books. Taste for literature he had none: his knowledge of the mere science of govern-

ment could scarcely be mentioned, and yet this very ignorance blinded him to the ulterior consequences of actions which he boldly carried through; but from many of which, persons endowed with more principle and less perseverance would have probably shrunk with indignation. Hence, on coming to his full intellectual maturity, he disentangled the royal revenues from their embarrasments, by practising upon the coin of the realm and the money-market with the utmost roguery and disingenuity. Transient and partial relief was thus obtained at the expense of public credit and the ruin of private families. The creditors of the crown lost about nine millions of dollars by a single measure. He managed, however, by such means to enfeeble and impoverish his aristocracy. Its overbearing influence waned in the Diet, which was brought by degrees to strengthen the prerogative generally, as had been done in Denmark; re-assuming those rich domainial estates that had been thoughtlessly granted away, and establishing the right of inheritance for the female line. The king married Ulrica Eleonora, a daughter of Frederick III., who brought from the court of her father at Copenhagen the best pledge of peace which could have been devised. Yet there was no quenching the inflammable animosities of the two nations, who agreed in nothing but their abhorrence of Catholicity. The future Charles XII. was now born, A.D. 1682, who ascended his throne at Stockholm within about fifteen years. With able ministers, a hardy population, an enlarged authority, and a treasury in admirable order, he stood out in strong relief as the youthful sovereign of the Baltic,—an absolute ruler over Sweden, Finland, Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, Bremen, Verden, great part of Pomerania, the towns of Wismar and Wibourg, and the island of Rugen. All would turn, under Divine Providence, upon the prudence, courage, or spirit which he might manifest. Nor had the world long to wait before these qualities were tested. Denmark, Poland, and Russia fell upon him immediately. The Danish sovereigns had not only introduced their autocratic constitution into Norway, but had undertaken a variety of arbitrary aggressions against the subjects of Holstein-Gottorp. The

young duke of the latter had married a sister of Ch
and was then resident at Stockholm, through the
sure of his opponents. His cause naturally coincided
the line of Swedish policy, and was warmly espous
his youthful and powerful brother-in-law. Charles
left the metropolis of his kingdom in May A.D.
never to return to it. Uniting his fleet with that
maritime states, he attacked Copenhagen by sea and
dictating at Travendahl the terms of a treaty, whi
stored the Duke of Holstein to the perfect enjoym
his rights as settled at Altona in A.D. 1689. He
marched against Peter the Great, gaining the victory
Narva with eight thousand Swedes against eighty thous
Russians. Never was a triumph more complete; alth
its genuine lessons were learned rather by the vanquis
than the victors. Instead of pursuing his advantages
regard to the Czar, he pressed forward to fight the Po
on the banks of the Duna. The prestige of his fortu
seemed to augment as he proceeded. Defeating the first
troops of Augustus, after a severe action, he overra
Courland as well as Livonia, and penetrated through
Lithuania into Poland. That nation had neither will nor
independent vitality of its own; its military aristocracy
veiled beneath their pretensions to patriotism the most
exclusive selfishness. Charles entered Warsaw, demand-
ing the election of another monarch instead of their pre-
sent one, Augustus Elector of Saxony. The sanguinary
triumph of Clissow brought on the surrender of Cracow,
and the enthronement of Stanislaus Leszinsky, Waywode of
Posen, A.D. 1702-4. The victory of Franstadt came after
the capture of Lemberg; but the conquerors rushed still
onward, through Silesia into Saxony, laying the entire
electorate under contribution. Peace at length ensued,
confirming the election of Stanislaus, granting the Swedish
army winter-quarters, and gratifying the basest revenge
and malignity of human nature, by the surrender of the
patriotic Patkul. This personage had gallantly resisted
the encroachments of Charles XI. upon the Livonian con-
stitution; his hand being cut off as a forfeit for his unfor-
tunate presumption. Escaping, however, to the courts of

Dresden and Warsaw. He had exiled Augustus to restore
pon hostilities. From Poland he had marched into Rus-
a, whose imperial despot dominated over all Muscovite
xtraordinary for the management of the Muscovite and
axon alliance. Augustus now made
) his enemy, contrary to every
anity. The Swedes
he peace of Altranstadt, A.D.

The career of Charles
ompetitor Peter had
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Stuarts; but it

December A.D. 1718, Charles was killed in the trenches by a ball which passed through his temples, apparently shot from the Swedish, rather than the Norwegian side. The treaties of Stockholm and Nystadt followed in due course, A.D. 1719-21. Bremen and Verden were sold to George I. as the price of his electorate of Hanover. Prussia obtained for 2,000,000 dollars Pomerania, as far as the Peene, with Stettin, Usedom, and Wollin. Denmark restored to Sweden Wismar, Stralsund, Rugen, and Marstrand; but she, in return, consented to pay tolls for the Sound, with 600,000 dollars down; besides recognising the rights of Denmark to that share of Sleswick formerly belonging to the house of Gottorp. Augustus II. was acknowledged king of Poland; Stanislaus retaining the regal title, and receiving 1,000,000 dollars for its support. Russia acquired legally what she had already got possession of by force; namely, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, with part of Wibourg, and all the islands from thence to the actual boundaries of Courland. The triumphant Czar had also conferred upon him the designations of Peter the Great and Emperor. Ulrica Eleonora, younger sister of Charles, with her consort the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, succeeded to the Swedish crown; but the ancient oligarchical constitution was revived in the ascendency of the Council of State. A casting, or at least a double vote, constituted the chief feature of the limited prerogative; besides that the throne had become once more elective. In A.D. 1720 Frederic of Hesse-Cassel received a transfer from the queen of her royalty to himself, with the consent of the aristocracy, passing over the pretensions of her nephew Charles Frederic, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, son of her elder sister Hedwiga Sophia, deceased. But the once potent realm of the representatives of Gustavus Vasa, which had contended for power with the Dane, the Sarmatian, and the Muscovite,—which, in conjunction with England and Holland, had put a curb on the ambition of Louis XIV. in the triple alliance of Sir William Temple,—had now little else than its glorious reminiscences to subsist upon. Its turbulent nobles ranged themselves into parties, under the leaders Syllenbourg and Horn, assuming the

fantastic titles of the Hats and Caps; in principle, the former being for war, and the latter for peace, but degenerating, in reality, into nothing more than French and Russian factions, perfectly ready to be purchased whenever a sufficient price was forthcoming for their services. The Caps were again subdivided into the Night-caps and the Hunting-caps, equally mean, mercenary, and troublesome. The Hats or French party obtained the ascendency in the Diet of A.D. 1738, and went to war with the court of St. Petersburg; sinking their defenceless country still lower in the mire, and being themselves snatched from destruction only through the choice of an occupant for their shadowy throne, since it was clear that their Hessian monarch would leave no children. Elizabeth was allowed to nominate Adolphus Frederic of Holstein-Eutin, of the younger line of this family, and cousin to the prince whom she had appointed her own successor. His coronation did not take place until A.D. 1751; yet Sweden, by this arrangement, at the peace of Abo, A.D. 1743, secured Finland, with the exception of the small province of Kymengard, and the fortress of Nyslot. The Seven Years' War, into which the kingdom was drawn by France, merely multiplied its mortifications. Adolphus Frederic was succeeded by his son Gustavus III., A.D. 1771, who effected an important revolution at Stockholm in the following year, on an understanding with France alike beneficial to himself and his subjects. His quick-sightedness caught at a favourable opportunity for once more rendering the royal authority a substance instead of a phantom. The Council of State was suppressed, while the old constitution remained; leaving legislation to the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants. Gustavus, however, might propose, sanction, or reject measures. Executive powers were also invested in him, as sovereign, without restriction. He could appoint to the various offices of each governmental department directly; yet, nevertheless, any unanimous opinion of his counsellors was to be obligatory; nor was he to declare war offensively without their consent. Swedish prosperity wonderfully revived for a brief interval; when, at a masked ball, the king was assassinated by Ankar-

stroëm, the avenger of a fallen oligarchy, March A.D. 1792. His son Gustavus IV. came of age about four years and a half afterwards; but his history blends itself with the French Revolution.

It has been truly remarked by Professor Heeren, that the ruling nations of the north were of twofold descent, partly German and partly Sclavonian,—a diversity showing itself in their respective governments. Among the former the feudal system had been established, in the same manner as in the west of Europe; but the citizens formed a separate order, though the nobility and clergy possessed great preponderance. In the Sclavonian tribes of Poland and Russia, on the contrary, the nobility, without distinct feudal relations, reduced the people to slavery; nor could commercial classes be fostered, since there were scarcely any very large towns or cities. There appeared elements for a constitution, therefore, in the one case; in the other they were totally wanting. When Sigismund, the son of Casmir the Great, had succeeded his brothers, A.D. 1506, the Sarmatian forests were already to some extent cleared and cultivated; so that corn was grown and even exported. But a state of bondage prevented the serfs from making progress in the arts of civil life; and religion was their sole consolation. Sigismund endeavoured to ameliorate matters, as did his successor Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagellons in a direct male line. Lithuania was formally incorporated with Poland at the Diet of Lublin, A.D. 1569; from which time, Volhynia, Podolia, and Kyow, conquered at an earlier period from the czars, were considered appurtenances of Red Russia, and reduced into the regular form of a Polish province. But unhappily the curse of Protestantism had invaded these regions, and scattered the seeds of discord in their most hateful shape. So cinianism, in fact, overspread the kingdom. On the dea of Sigismund Augustus, A.D. 1572, the crown might l described as an elective one, so far as it involved any re government at all. It was rather a regal title confer upon a phantom hovering over a Phlegræan field of v canic confusion. Without an approximation to a su iency of revenue or prerogative, out of the eleven so

reigns from Henry of Anjou to Stanislaus Poniatowsky, A.D. 1573-1764, hardly three could be said to reign by an unanimity of choice. The dissidents had five thousand conventicles, until the Society of Jesus re-erected the holy standard of faith and unity; nor was it certain at first that Szafranice, a nobleman steeped in heresy, would not be pitched upon to fill the chair of the orthodox Jagellons. In the room of Henry, when he absconded to his own country, on the decease of his brother, Charles IX. of France, the palatines chose Stephen Bathori, Vaivode of Transylvania, who had espoused Anne Jagellon, sister to the late Sigismund Augustus. Zealous for the only true religion, she persuaded her consort to adopt it; employing also all her influence and energies in securing the succession, as they had no family, for her nephew, Sigismund Vasa, the crown-prince of Sweden, representing, through his mother, her own royal house. But the contest thence arising with regard to the Swedish inheritance; the tumults and disorders attendant upon the national diets, where political power and office were almost openly exposed to sale; the intrigues of ministers respectively bribed to promote the objects entertained at Moscow, Stockholm, or Copenhagen,—shook to pieces every foundation of society, throughout the stormy reigns of the third Sigismund, the fourth Uladislaus, John Casimir Vasa, and Michael Viesnovitzky. The last but one ended his days in a convent at Paris; and Michael, unable to resist the Cossacks or withstand the Turks, felt ignominiously compelled to promise those enemies of Christendom an annual subsidy of twenty-two thousand ducats! A.D. 1672. It was Protestantism that sapped the national marrow of Poland; destined, as it seemed, by so many circumstances to have otherwise presented an impenetrable barrier and bulwark against Ottoman aggression. Even as it was, John Sobieski defeated the Moslem at Chozim. Elected to the throne on the death of Michael, A.D. 1674, he wiped away the scandal of the last peace, which had rendered his country a tributary to the infidel. His noble attachment to Catholicity drew down upon him the benediction of the Almighty. Hardened at an early age into a gallant soldier

and general, it has been nevertheless doubted whether he fully ripened into a ruler. Internal improvements could perhaps scarcely be expected to become objects of profound attention to a Polish magnate; so that, largely as his native kingdom participated in his glory, the results were transitory, springing but from his personal talents and character. The relief of Vienna has shed an immortal lustre upon his name, A.D. 1684, though he did not live to see the termination of the struggle, from which Russia, rather than Poland, extracted the most solid advantages. On his decease, in A.D. 1696, Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, obtained a majority of suffrages in the diet; governing, or attempting to govern, the elements of chaos and extravagance, down to the close of his life in A.D. 1733, and allowing for the intervening administration of Stanislaus Lescinsky, A.D. 1704-9. After the battle of Pultowa the czars exerted a sway in the affairs of Poland which no efforts could resist,—ever likely to be made in a country where, as Voltaire observes, the people were slaves, and the nobles selling their votes to the best bidder; where there was no treasury to support a regular army; where laws were without force, and liberty productive of nothing but dissensions; in one word, where the real rulers were a hundred thousand mounted cavalry,—each individual, as we may add, a purchasable tyrant on horseback. The death of Augustus II. led to those hostilities which demonstrated the exhaustion of Austria, and closed in the peace of Vienna, made A.D. 1738. Don Carlos thereby acquired the Sicilies, until they should be exchanged for Spain; on which event, happening as it did in A.D. 1759, his third son Ferdinand was to succeed him. Tuscany became an archduchy for Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, and a *secundo-geniture* in their family afterwards. The duchy of Parma was then assigned to the Emperor Charles VI.; but subsequently, with adjacent appendages, fell to Don Philip, as a younger branch of the Bourbons. The policy of Cardinal Fleury was realised in Lorraine being secured for France on the decease of Stanislaus Leczinsky, who was to hold it for life with the royal title. Augustus III. obtained the crown of Poland; where

the horrible demoralisation proceeded from bad to worse, which his father, the late sovereign, whatever might have been his political merits or demerits, had at all events sanctioned by the profligacy of his personal example.

The Poles themselves would fain have elected a second time the virtuous father-in-law of Louis XV., on the grounds of his being by birth their fellow-countryman, as also from their admiration of his character; but Russia settled it the other way,—that mighty power at which all the world now began to wonder. Ivan Basilovitch the Great, who died in A.D. 1505, was succeeded by Basilei until A.D. 1533, when Ivan Basilovitch II. ascended the throne, and afterwards assumed the startling title of czar. His aspirations set very strongly in the direction of the Baltic, as was shown by his invasion of Livonia and Esthonia, A.D. 1560. These countries, and particularly the former, with some neighbouring territories, became in the north what Milan was in the south of Europe, namely, a perpetual scene of contention. They had been in the thirteenth century amongst the dependencies of the Teutonic order; but in A.D. 1520, their Heermeister Walter von Plettenberg purchased his freedom, and was raised to the rank of a prince of the German empire. Making use of the Lutheran heresy to serve his purposes, he subjugated the city and archbishopric of Riga, rendering himself absolute lord of his dominions, by the most approved methods of that day, amongst which the principal one was ecclesiastical rapine. His representative at the time of the Muscovite invasion was Gotthard Kettler, with whom, after torrents of blood had been shed, an arrangement ensued on the part of Poland, by which Courland and Semigallia were ceded to him as an hereditary duchy under Polish protection; Livonia itself was united to Poland, and Esthonia, with Revel, to Sweden. It was in vain that Russia then struggled for five-and-twenty years to obtain a harbour on the coast. The duchy of Courland remained for a century and half in the house of Kettler, A.D. 1585-1737. But Ivan, although disappointed in the west, succeeded better in the east. He conquered the great Tartaric regions of Casan and Astrakhan, blending them permanently with his already vast dominions. The noma-

dic tribes of Baschkiria sheltered themselves under his sway. The ancient Nogay residence of Ufa was restored by him, which secured for his people hunting-grounds and forests, meadows for pasture, and important fisheries in the rivers. He enticed the natives with cheap brandy; penetrated into Lapland; favoured the British navigators in the White Sea, which led to the foundation of Archangel; accepted the discovery of Siberia; and originated those plans which, under Peter the Great, extended the Russian frontiers to China and Japan, including moreover the Aleutian, Fox, and Kurilian islands, with the promontory of Alaska, the large insular territory of Kadjak, and the western shores of America. Attempts were made here and there to spread the Greek religion, but without effect; while so imperfect was even the personal civilisation of the court, that when Christiern III. of Denmark presented the czar with a clock, Ivan refused to receive it, observing that such a piece of enchantment was not fit for an orthodox sovereign who believed in one God, and was resolved to have nothing to do with the planets. Moscow had grown into a considerable metropolis, fourteen miles in circumference, surrounded with three walls, and battlements of different colours. The Kremlin reared its pinnacles over a fortress of barbaric grandeur, including in its circle of towers and spires an imperial palace, with the residences of the patriarch and his chapter of ecclesiastical dignitaries. Thirty-five churches adorned the city, with their roofs glittering in the sun, as it shone upon the silvery gilded tiles, covering those stupendous bells which still boom through the city from hour to hour, like the murmurs of distant thunder. The male heirs of the house of Ruric died out with Feodor, the son of Ivan, in A.D. 1598; when, amidst the confusions of fifteen years, Poland captured the capital, and might have placed on the throne Uladislaus Vasa, son of Sigismund III., had not the hatred of the Russians towards Catholicity rendered a religious monarch of the true faith intolerable to them. No less than three impostors, pretending to personate Demetrius, the brother of Feodor, who had been murdered, multiplied the national disorders. At length, A.D. 1613, the great men and nobles of the empire, wearied

out through the miseries that prevailed, passed three days in fasting and prayer, to decide upon the selection of a master. So rigorously was the ordinance observed, that mothers refused their milk to sucking infants. Michael Federovitch Romanoff, a grandson on the maternal side of the Czar Ivan, became the object of their choice, whose administration of more than thirty years brought back some brighter prospects of prosperity. His son and successor, Alexis, subdued the Cossacks, and was the father of Peter the Great. He was the first czar who had a political gazette translated into the vernacular for his own use, and that of his ministers. A formal embassy was now sent from Moscow to Peking; and Tobolsk was established as a staple market for Chinese silk, precious stones, and other manufactures. His reign continued as long as that of his predecessor, terminating A.D. 1676.

His measures appeared to be at least pledges for better days. He introduced a regular system of posts; erected so many manufactories, that his czarina could clothe herself in native fabrics; taught his rude subjects to sleep in beds instead of on the ground; and forbade the consumption of veal, that more calves might grow up into dairy cows. The laws of the land, as well as the services of the Greek Church, were printed. Some of the troops were initiated in the tactics and discipline of civilised Europe. Feodore II., Ivan, and Sophia, were the children of his first consort; Peter the Great was the issue of a later alliance with a lady, whose names were Natalia Naraschkin. After some changes, on the death of his eldest brother in A.D. 1682, the future founder of St. Petersburg was proclaimed sovereign in conjunction with Ivan, who was blind and of deficient capacity, both princes being placed under the regency of their sister Sophia. She, perceiving the talents of her youngest ward, resolved upon his destruction, and usurped the autocracy. Peter took refuge in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, undermined the authority of his ambitious half-sister, finally imprisoned her in a convent, and after the decease of Ivan descended for an interval from his throne for the purposes of travel and general improvement. His real reign may therefore be dated from his return home,

A.D. 1700. Azoph had been already captured; the [illegible] revenues were 25,000,000 of livres, which he quadrupled [illegible] amount before his death. The emblem which he chose himself—an unfinished statue growing out of a rock—seems extremely appropriate. Every amelioration appeared to depend upon his own personal exertions. He was often present in his courts of justice, and attended the deliberations of the senate. Incessant tours of inspection made him familiar with his most distant provinces. The Greek ecclesiastics being wrapt in barbarism, he ventured to abolish the patriarchate, and combine in himself a spiritual as well as a temporal supremacy. He sang at the altar as an archbishop of bishops; transferring the government of the Church to a holy synod appointed by himself, and the mere instrument of his will. The guard of Streltzes was extinguished, and a code of military regulations settled. The rank of an officer conferred a title of nobility, while a grandee, who had learned nothing, was deprived of his grade; every individual serving in any office of the first eight classes being considered upon an equality with the most ancient magnates. The czar then took a census. Russia was found to contain 271 cities, 44,000 towns, and 715,000 villages. Upwards of 5,000,000 paid the capitation tax, exclusive of a quarter of a million engaged for government by land or water,—the civil and temporal officials, and proprietors actually possessing land in their own right. Such statements, however, must be taken for what they were really worth. There are only six cities at the present moment possessing a population over 50,000, even including Warsaw, the capital of Poland, throughout the entire Muscovite empire: towns must be understood as existing on a very humble scale indeed; and villages may stand for wretched hamlets of two or three mud or wooden hovels, with a square hole cut out in each wall, as an apology for door or window. Pigs in England are probably as well lodged as were seven-eighths of the obedient subjects of Peter the Great; and from there being no public opinion among so rude and ignorant a people, even their reformation, in its earlier stages, wore the semblance of an improved culture rather than any deeply-rooted civilisation.

His war with Sweden brought him at last to the mouths of the Neva, a prize which above all things he wished to obtain, well knowing that commerce alone could impart energy and vitality to his frozen wildernesses. In the course of twenty summers he had the satisfaction of seeing his harbours visited annually by 1200 vessels; nor was his marine less than forty ships of the line, besides frigates and 200 galleys. There was also a sufficiency of ordnance, although scarcely yet of artillerymen and good sailors.

The eleven great rivers of Russia he endeavoured to unite by a system of canals, so as to open a regular water-communication between the Caspian, the Euxine, the White and Baltic seas. The Armenians and Grusines were invited out of Persia, where they were persecuted, to the islands of the Wolga; cultivating on those alluvial soils the mulberries and vines, which became sources of wealth in the way of silks and grapes; not to mention their finer breeds of sheep and inexhaustible fisheries. His factories soon included nearly 200,000 artisans, instructed in the principles of a division of labour. The whole affair indeed, like the emperor himself, was in a state of something like a large chrysalis, developing into higher and more attractive phases of existence. The slough of hirsute barbarism still every where intruded itself upon observation; and when the regenerator of an enormous aggregation of kingdoms executed his own son, it seemed as difficult to realise the fact as to comprehend its motives. But his motto was, "Forward,—further yet;" for which reason he annexed to his diadem the right that its wearer should nominate the successor. Catharine, his consort, had preserved his life and fortunes on the banks of the Pruth, and reigned after his death, A.D. 1725-7. Her days seem to have been cut short through the immoderate use of strong liquors. The male line of Romanoff became extinct within three years afterwards, on the decease of Peter II., son to the late Czarowitch. The Dolgoruckys had supplanted Prince Mentschikoff in favour at court; they seated on the throne Anna, younger daughter of the blind czar Ivan, the elder brother of Peter the Great, and duchess dowager of Courland. General Münnich now came into power,

sometimes entitled the Eugene of the North, from [illegible] victories over Poland and the Turks; but the real [illegible] of imperial preference was John Ernest of Biren, [illegible] Anna wanted to make duke of Courland on the expiry of [illegible] family of Kettler, in the person of Ferdinand its last [illegible] sentative, even before his death in A.D. 1737. [illegible] an elder sister Catharine, married to the Duke of Mecklenburg, whose only daughter Anne she brought to [illegible] united to Anthony Ulrick of Brunswick-Bevern or [illegible] embuttel; nominating also their issue, the infant Ivan, [illegible] the Russian diadem. On the decease of the empress, however, a revolution set all this aside, conferring the [illegible] upon Elizabeth, daughter to Peter the Great, A.D. [illegible] She administered affairs for one-and-twenty years; [illegible] Biren party fell, with that of Münnich also: a surgeon named Lestoq, had been the main agent in these changes. Ivan was consigned to a dungeon, his mother to an early grave with a broken heart, and his father to the deserts of Siberia. Courland, to which the favourite of Anna had been at last elected, henceforward became to all intents and purposes a part of the Muscovite empire, absorbing, as that had already done, the choicest Baltic provinces, from the frontiers of Finland to the Dwina. After Peter III. had succeeded his aunt Elizabeth, and been himself deposed by the vigour of his terrible partner the second Catharine, an intrigue of more than ordinary atrocity and infamy got rid of the innocent Ivan. He was murdered at midnight, A.D. 1764. Catharine, originally a princess of Anhalt Zerbst, now reigned as the imperial criminal of the eighteenth century,—a worthy contemporary of her friend and accomplice in iniquity, the Prussian Frederick. Greek schism and Protestant infidelity threw a pall of darkness over the Catholic virtues of Maria Theresa, when the Austrian empress fulminated her fruitless protests against the partition of Poland. Her son Joseph had sufficiently imbibed the philosophy of his fellow-conspirators to turn a deaf ear towards every maternal remonstrance; the czarina, meanwhile, produced marvellous effects upon the material condition of her own subjects. The plans of the mighty emperor whose degenerate grandson had placed her in the foremost rank of

European sovereigns, were all carried out: vaccination was introduced; surgery and general science were extensively cultivated; chambers of commerce, the extension of navigation, the prosecution of geographical discovery, the promotion of colonisation, trade, and agriculture, engaged in their turns her attention and zeal; hospitals, schools, and colleges were founded in judicious localities, and more than 200 cities erected in different regions of the empire. The Crimea was wrenched from Turkey; the Cossack rebellion of Pugatscherd was quenched in blood; the peace of Kainardjee, A.D. 1774, gave Russia the ascendency in the Black Sea; so that within nine years the old Tauric Chersonnesus and the Cuban were formally occupied, as a prelude to the anticipations of Taganrog, Sebastopol, a triumphant navy in the Euxine, Constantinople, and the revival of a Greek empire. It was at this crisis that her son Paul, as hereditary Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, resigned that principality, with all his pretensions to Sleswick, in favour of the royal family of Denmark; Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, the cradle of those houses thus governing from Holland to China, being formed into a German duchy, and ceded to Frederick Augustus, of the younger Gottorp line, one of whose princes had acquired the kingdom of Sweden.

The final calamities of Poland may be said to have commenced with the election of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, on the decease of Augustus III., A.D. 1763. Had Catholicity been left undisturbed, as it ought to have been, the grand catastrophe might, in all probability, have been avoided. But the dissidents threw themselves at once into the hands of Russia; the Prussian monarch waiting for his share of the fruit, when it should be ready to drop from the tree. The first partition was in A.D. 1772. The czarina helped herself to the most valuable portions of Lithuania, and the vaivodeships of Minsk, Vitepsk, and Micelaff, or Miceslaf. Frederick seized upon the whole of Polish Prussia, with the district of the Netz; so as to render his territories continuous from Glatz to Memel, including the fertile districts of Culm, Elbing, and Marienbourg, with the cathedral of Wermeland, possessing an annual income of 300,000 dollars, and the only navigable mouths of the

Vistula. Austria acquired the kingdoms of Gallicia and Lodomeria, in addition to the Bukowina, subsequently extorted from Turkey, shaken afresh as the Sultany had been by the revolt and exploits of Ali Bey. Joseph, however, drew upon himself the most mortifying opposition from Prussia, when he manifested such decided dispositions for appropriating the Bavarian inheritance as were displayed previously to the Peace of Teschen, A.D. 1779; yet, strange to say, he soon started another project equally absurd, and thwarted by the same means with equal ease; namely, that of reviving the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, through an exchange of the Netherlands, with the exception of Namur and Luxembourg, for the provinces of Bavaria. Frederick left the world, after having, as almost his last act of life, compelled his former admirer to relinquish the scheme; it only remained for the foolish emperor to excite a rebellion in Belgium before his own death in A.D. 1790. The external surface of society appeared every where prepared to open, from the fury of the incipient agitations fermenting throughout the abysses below. Italy trembled from sea to sea: by the marriage of an archduke with the hereditary Princess of Modena, Austria had a prospect, delayed for some period, of ultimately succeeding to the beautiful dominions of Este, as a tertio-geniture for her family: Genoa had lost Corsica to France. In Holland, the democracy so pressed the house of Orange, that the new king of Prussia, brother-in-law to the stadtholder, sent the latter an army for the re-establishment of order; which illustrated the old aphorism of attempting to hold a wolf by the ears, A.D. 1788-9. Austria played the same game in Liège soon afterwards, with similar results. In Sweden, Gustavus III. had undertaken a war against Russia without the consent of his states, in which England, Denmark, and Prussia more or less directly interposed; conducing to the assembling of a Diet at Stockholm, which passed what was called the Act of Union and Security, A.D. 1789, intended to depress the nobility. The Russians were beaten by him at sea and on land; so that negotiations restored matters to their former position, by a peace signed on the banks of the Kymen, 14th August, A.D.

1790. Poland was reserved for fresh humiliations and miseries: what still remained of her scanty territory to invite further spoliations. The important work had been given to those masters who compare [illegible] the balance of power among independent states and [illegible] duality and [illegible] relation to each other [illegible] their subjects [illegible] upon those who [illegible] their rights [illegible] fellow-creatures [illegible] of oxen, and [illegible] miles of land [illegible] of a private [illegible] hypocrisy was [illegible] of offering or [illegible] marks of [illegible] injury. Few [illegible] Prussia, and [illegible] principles [illegible] their [illegible] perial and [illegible] second [illegible] partition treaty [illegible] the executions [illegible] ing, as she [illegible] the same [illegible] tendom. [illegible] Edmund Burke [illegible] interested [illegible] pension [illegible] Grodno, [illegible] where he [illegible] 1793. [illegible] preserve [illegible] his [illegible] for a [illegible] share of [illegible] than [illegible] could or can [illegible]

are to prove of annihilating an intermediate kingdom, which kept apart those grand despotisms, perhaps destined by their future union to affect the whole political system of the world; one of them forming the strength of the Greek schism, and another combining every shade of Protestant latitudinarianism and profligacy, from the deistical dreamers at Berlin to the visionary Mückers of Konigsberg!

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1789-97.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: ITS CAUSES, CAREER, AND CONSEQUENCES.

THE various causes of the French Revolution may be arranged under the four heads of Protestantism developed into infidelity, the enormous profligacy in morals consequent upon the corruption or loss of faith, the maintenance of innumerable abuses, and the financial embarrassments of government. It cannot be denied that the ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century derived its essence from a principle of resistance to authority; the principle being based upon an imagined right of private judgment as to what ought or ought not to be believed: in other words, allegiance to that organisation of spiritual supremacy ordained by Almighty God was scattered to the winds. Men were to be popes to themselves in matters of faith; and if so, why not in politics and morals? The last, moreover, found abundance of tempters and allies within and without: every human heart had only to enthrone its own pride, listen to its own passions, and revel in the material and intellectual sensualism of an over-refined civilisation; hence all conceivable impurities and abominations effervesced into a fatally attractive existence throughout the metropolis and the capitals of the provinces. The ministry was ruled by mistresses from the regency of the Duke of Orleans to the decease of Louis XV.; the noblesse and opulent merchants caught and spread the infection; the sanctity of marriage melted away from the hearths and homes of families, while

saloons, public places, literature, and the press teemed with the fearful contagion. Gaming, extravagance, frivolity, and court attendance wasted the fortunes of those who might otherwise have been rich, without promoting the interests of trade and commerce, or alleviating the miseries of the poor. The short harvests of an inclement season also aggravated general discontent, without doubt; but deeper seeds of mischief lay imbedded in the foundations and framework of society. The kingdom of France had degenerated into a vast magazine of abuses. An aristocracy, armed with a panoply of privileges, without the prestige of ancient associations, crushed down the lower classes; multiplying in numbers, as these were, under their harrows and axes of iron. Despotism reigned rampant over all; the Bastile frowned at personal freedom, with many dungeons, multiplied into myriads more than there really were, through the combined influence of mysterious tyranny and popular misrepresentation. None but the nobles could hold high office in the army, navy, or state. The dignified clergy had grown careless, lax, and worldly; their disproportionate revenues excited universal animadversion. The hierarchy haunted the court, permitting debauchery, blasphemy, and false philosophy to insult the Church with impunity. Halls of justice no longer answered to their name; negligence, dishonesty, and prodigality seemed predominant throughout the entire social economy. Taxation had come to press like an intolerable curse upon the people; the children of toil and labour had to bear its burdens, without enjoying the protection for which those burdens were professedly to pay. Imposts upon salt, tobacco, and posts produced three hundred millions of francs, farmed out to the rapacity of financiers, who thus acquired legal means for fleecing the artisan, so as to diminish the scale of wages and raise the price of merchandise. An idea may be formed as to the cruel inequality with which the *gabelle* incided upon certain rural districts, when we find that some paid on a quintal of salt only from eight to nine francs; others from sixteen to twenty-five; and others, again, the atrocious duty of sixty-two livres: the variations upon one of the necessaries of life

thus ranging from 100 to nearly 800 per cent! Smuggling naturally convulsed every department of the excise, with all its attendant consequences of fraud, perjury, ferocious contests between the collectors and the peasants, and a state of feeling somewhat akin to a kind of civil war against government. The seignorial services exacted by proprietors from their tenants, with the horrors of the game and forest laws, produced extensive calamity and depression of agriculture. Paris absorbed the wealth of the provinces, paying at the same time an income into the royal treasury eighty millions more, as Neckar remarks, than the joint revenues of the Swedish, Danish, and Sardinian crowns. It plagued the shopkeeper, however, far more than the gentry, involving a series of abuses quite sufficient to have entangled of itself any urban community in confusion. Meanwhile, distress and deficiencies hovered around the national exchequer. The late American war had cost France such an amount of money that extrication appeared impossible: recourse was had either to loans, which augmented the necessities of the state through their increasing dividends; or to additional imposts, which, following the unequal distribution of those already in existence, only helped to render the disproportion of pecuniary levies more and more intolerable: the argosy of the state threatened to strand and go to pieces upon the shoals of her financial embarrassment.

Every thing portended some mighty change at hand; just as before an earthquake, or a hurricane, animate and inanimate nature seem to sympathise with the impending catastrophe. Dreamers dreamt, and narrated their terrific visions; Cazot predicated, after a banquet, the frightful destinies of those with whom he had but just dined. The old Egyptians, as is well known, introduced the head of a skeleton at their festivals; and it was now as though the teeth chattered in the jaws of the symbol of death! The general riot, however, of voluptuousness rolled and rattled on as usual. The harp and the viol sounded as gaily as ever in the drawing-rooms of refinement and the streets of the city; admirers of Franklin, Washington, and La Fayette, polished aristocratic profligates, painted courte-

sans, and grave philosophers, revelled in their conceit and vanity, in the humiliation of Great Britain, the profundity and cleverness of Rousseau and Voltaire as the apostles of a golden age, and in the decline of Christianity—the superstitious delusion of former times. The obscurity of evangelisation, as well as the darkness of monasticism, were giving way rapidly before the coruscations of wit, the aurora of reason, and the wisdom of calculators and economists; no Church would shortly astonish the world, except a temple, like the Pantheon of Augustus, that would comprise beneath the ample firmament of its dome the statues of the really good and great,—those luminaries of mankind who had laughed religion and morals out of countenance. Louis XVI. had ascended the throne of his grandfather in A.D. 1774, animated with benevolent and honest sentiments, amiable and virtuous in his private life, but with little independence of judgment and no strength of mind. Without confidence in himself, he was inconstant in that which he granted to others, which exposed him to insinuations and cabals; so that he was better fitted to have been a successor of St. Louis, his holy ancestor, than to guide the chariot of a democracy when its wheels were taking fire! His queen was Marie Antoinette, a daughter of Maria Theresa,—very lovely in her person, and unexceptionable in her character, yet without the manly discernment and firmness of her mother. The corrupt court was wrapt in too thick an atmosphere of iniquity to appreciate fairly, or derive any moral benefit from, the example of the royal pair, whose want of intellectual force enabling wicked courtiers to practise upon the indulgence of their sovereigns. The absence of vice, therefore, on the part of the latter, came to be considered a weakness, instead of operating as a tacit condemnation of the delinquency around them. Youthfulness may perhaps be pleaded for the strong likings or dislikings in which her majesty indulged, when she placed herself in an attitude of the bitterest political antagonism to Turgot, the colleague of Maurepas, and who might have introduced something like order and frugality into the finances. Neckar succeeded him,—an accountant rather than a statesman. Vergennes had pro-

moted the American war, but without in the least foreseeing what could not fail to be the almost immediate consequences to his own country. He had, however, the courage to oppose the Austrian party in the cabinet, to sustain also by negotiations the Turks against Russia, and those of the Netherlands and Hollanders who were making efforts against the houses of Orange, Hohenzollern, and Hapsburg; but Poland was partitioned before his eyes without effective observation. Neckar found the support of Washington so expensive, that the deficit increased daily. He demanded retrenchments: the courtiers, who were principally to suffer, through the abolition of their patent places, drove him from his bureau in A.D. 1781, when Calonne occupied his place, Anglomania and Republicanism coming forward at the same time into most fearful fashion. The minister turned pale on the verge of an abyss which yawned wider and wider. The government had increased the debt 1,250,000,000 livres within ten years; the deficiency for the current twelvemonth was 125,000,000,—more than equivalent, as money then was, to 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The assembly of the Notables—a miniature diet of the kingdom—was recommended; and it met A.D. 1786, only to agitate the curtain before it finally rose upon the grandest tragedy that Europe had seen for many a generation. Calonne was now replaced by Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, an ecclesiastic by no means equal to working impossibilities. He could do no more than echo the proposition of the notables for a convocation of the States-General; quarrel with the parliament of Paris; rouse the opposition of the Duke of Orleans; excite an insurrection in Bretagne and Dauphiné; give an articulate voice to the groans of an indignant people—conscious that all was wrong, yet with no ideas as to how it could be set right; and bring about the recal of Neckar, with a promise for the demanded convocation. The States-General had never come together since A.D. 1614, and of course every thing would turn upon the form and conditions under which they were to assemble now. Had Neckar been a Richelieu, he would have comprehended this pregnant point; not being such, he swam with the current instead of resisting it.

The democracy was waxing loud and violent, and popularity had been ever his idol; the precious moments, too, were fast drifting away, during which it was at all possible for an opposition to the popular will to be made. Like other ordinary persons pitched against a crisis, for the management of which they are not competent, the minister consulted the notables: they suggested ancient precedents, discussing them with learned prolixity, just as the thunderbolt was about to strike their gates! Neckar, as a Swiss and Protestant, could not be expected to comprehend the religious interests at stake; besides which, the opportunity for doing so had fled for ever. The character of the peril was rapidly attaining the grandeur of a conflagration no longer to be trampled out by a *Compte Rendu*, or the dismissal of an obnoxious prelate. Under the delusion of laying the foundations of constitutional monarchy, an anti-Catholic minister, bowing before an irreligious population, advised his sovereign to lay aside his absolutism, or at least share it with the national representatives. Instead of each of the three estates being allowed an equal number of deputies, the king convoked immediately (adopting, as he said, the views of his comptroller of the finances,) the States-General, consisting of 1200 members, half of them to be chosen in the third estate, the other moiety to be divided between the nobility and clergy. Thus was the first step taken towards the pit of destruction.

But there could be now no retreat. The subsequent vacillations produced nothing but suspicions and an enormous aggravation of the evil; which, though it is perhaps possible to imagine it suspended for a while, had there been prudence manifested at the commencement, required from that instant unflinching firmness in combination with the wisest magnanimity. Louis XVI. solemnly opened the States-General of France on the memorable 5th of May, A.D. 1789. It was clear to intelligent observers that the gilded despotism of Versailles, with its majestic yet oppressive associations, had in fact expired; between its immoral nobility and its wealthy worldly clergy, both of which owed their present degeneracy to the contaminating

tyranny of the Bourbons, the crown, the coronet, and the crozier fronted a fierce and vindictive democracy, ready to devour them all. The restriction of monarchy, a political regeneration of the kingdom, an instantaneous abolition of exclusive privileges, could not fail to be demanded: but for what other purpose had the deputies of the commons been doubled? A question then of course arose, as to how decisions were to be arranged; whether votes were to be taken, as heretofore, by order, or by heads. If the former, the duplication of the popular representatives looked like a needless mockery; if the latter, the preponderance of the commons seemed a settled affair—as in truth it was. After some negotiations, remonstrances, and coquetries, a portion of the lower clergy, who had much to gain and little now to lose, went over to the third estate, upon the motion of the Abbé Sieyes; declaring themselves altogether one national assembly, on the 17th of June, A.D. 1789. The king now began to waver, if not to threaten, although without perhaps meaning to do either. He commanded that the votes should be taken by order and not by heads, and that deliberations henceforth should be held in three different chambers! Had his majesty forgotten the story of Canute addressing the waves? Mirabeau defied the royal declarations. The Duke of Orleans, with several of the nobility, then joined the National Assembly; and before the end of a fortnight the remainder were desired to follow their example by no less an authority than that of Louis himself. His condescension, however, had been too clearly the result of fear, rather than a spirit of conciliation, to pacify the people or assuage the storm. Whispers went about that force might be resorted to, were the sovereign unhandsomely pressed; troops assembled in the vicinity of the capital. On the other hand, particles of incipient insurrection ran into one mass, like globules of quicksilver. Neckar, with his colleague Montmorin, received a dismissal from office; their seals being transferred to an unpopular aristocrat, the Baron de Breuteuil, brought about the outbreak of the 14th of July, in which the Bastile was stormed and taken. Songs of triumph accompanied the demolition of this remarkable fortress. The National Assembly pe-

titioned for, and the king conceded, a recall of the banished ministers: the soldiers were removed; reconciliation smiled as sweetly as it had recently frowned. The sovereign and his professed subjects, the weak and the strong, the victims and his executioners, embraced with mutual protestations of amity and forgiveness. But the reconciliation, even during this act of the drama, discovered in what point the play was drifting, and began prematurely to quit the country, with princes of the blood at their head. Such a measure raised the spirits of the Orleanists, who threw the floodgates of license and faction wide open before them. Provisions augmented in price; the arm of justice relaxed every hour; thieves ventured into town without any bandage over the revengeful glaring eye; murders multiplied daily. Whoever dared to impugn the infallibility of the populace found the lamp-iron and the elevation of a lamp-post for his gallows the speedy reward of loyal or religious courage. Paris and the provinces resounded with windy declamations upon the rights of man, and the glories of liberty, fraternity, and equality. Disorders of every description overspread it like a flood. Under the new designation of a Constituent Assembly, the representatives of France organized their reforms in as though they were to be so many fruits of ignorance: feudal privileges, as well as personal advantages which the law, were abolished for ever; together with those municipal or patrimonial jurisdictions, and peculiar claims of private societies or corporations. Taxation was in a manner ferred from the sinews of industry to the revenues of property; all classes were henceforward on the same level; offices and dignities were only to be conferred on the most worthy, without the slightest regard to birth, fortune, position, or any other unjust pretension. Upon petitions, every wish of the wisest patriotism appeared to be realized; yet all this marvellous and sudden illumination was but the red reflection of that glowing furnace through which the nation was about to pass, as an ordeal of repentance and vengeance.

It was, in other words, a genuine and decisive revolution; a revolt from what Protestantism had abolished, and

priestcraft and superstition. The few had surrendered the reins of government to the many; from that moment the genius of an irreligious demagogy displayed its horns and its hoofs, as an unveiled demon. Without disguise, the voice of the people was declared to be the voice of God, with death to the doubters of the doctrine! The new constitution was to consist but of one chamber, to be renewed every three years; with a restricted veto on the part of the crown, to continue in force only during the space of two sessions. After the horrors of an insurrection, which brought Louis and his family from Versailles to the capital in October, some re-action seemed to have set in on their behalf, which the aristocratic faction quickly marred. Funds were now wanted, which from the convulsed circumstances of the kingdom could most easily be furnished by wholesale robbery, and for which the annals of royal plunder afforded plenty of precedents. All ecclesiastical possessions were therefore confiscated, to the extent of 3,000,000,000 livres in value, and declared national property. The domains of the crown naturally followed; and to facilitate an immediate sale of such enormous seizures, a system of assignats, or issue of paper-money, ensued; binding by the ties of private interest every purchaser of the stolen estates, or the minutest portion of them, to the revolution which thus enriched him. The monastic orders were then suppressed, as also the provincial parliaments; ancient municipalities shared a similar fate, together with *lettres de cachet*, titles, and coats of arms. The entire realm underwent a fresh subdivision of its territories into its present departments, their appellations being derived from natural boundaries and objects. The national representation was arranged so as to rest upon this novel classification; every citizen paying an annual impost of three livres being entitled to vote in those primary colleges intended to appoint the electors of the 747 deputies who were to constitute the Legislative Assembly. A civil list was settled on his majesty of 25,000,000 francs; with an appointment of 4,000,000 for the queen, as her dowry, should she survive the king. All this mirage of royalty, for it was little else, received its crowning folly in the festival of

confederation, celebrated on the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, just when the clubs were beginning to cover the whole capital and country with a network of democratic societies. The alleged provocation for instituting them was declared to be the gathering of emigrants on the Rhenish frontier, more particularly at Coblentz, Worms, and Ettenheim; from whence they set in motion all manner of intrigues throughout the army and kingdom. The various European courts were likewise appealed to in no very judicious language by the agents of the Comte d'Artois; who, by personal journeys from one metropolis to another, fanned the languid embers of negotiation. An unscrupulous press magnified every rumour as it reached Paris; whence, with no end of malicious amplifications, reports of a menaced invasion were scattered from the Pyrenees and Marseilles to Strasbourg and Flanders. Faithful priests were now found disdaining any compromise of conscience by taking the hideous oath demanded from them by an already anti-Christian state; Neckar for the third and last time left France. Louis again declined in public favour, his Catholicity beginning, not too soon, to take serious alarm; Marat, Danton, and Robespierre already were making known their execrable names. Mirabeau, described by his contemporaries as the tiger that had had the small-pox, popular still, although some suspected him, died exactly at the juncture when he might possibly have been useful; for he had sold himself to the royalists for money before he ceased to be of value in the market. The king and queen then fled to Varennes, where they were arrested on the road to the border. La Fayette, as commanding the National Guards, prevailed for a brief period in keeping down the Jacobins, and retaining within the magic circle a ghost of the monarchy. And a poor gibbering spectre it now was. His majesty swore unconditionally to the constitution: pretending, as it did, to comprise an inviolable executive with responsible ministers; one Legislative Assembly, to be renewed biennially; the suspensive veto for the crown in force but for two sessions; an independent judiciary and juries; an organised National Guard; as well as all the civil, personal,

proprietary, and religious claims which could be conceded to a conceited republic. Thus terminated the National or Constituent Assembly, on the 30th September, A.D. 1791.

Its successor emerged into activity under sinister auspices,—in fact, with the mark of Cain upon its forehead. Faction and the clubs had biassed the elections, as might have been expected; on its benches sat many enthusiasts, no sages, a few well-meaners, and some colossal scoundrels. To make matters worse, the Emperor Leopold had issued in the spring of the year a circular from Padua, addressed to all crowned heads, which happened to be the most empty ones at that time, throughout Christendom: hence sprang the Conferences at Pillnitz, mischievous to the last degree. Austria, Russia, Prussia, Saxony, and Sweden fancied that they might coalesce with impunity against France, in the height of her political fever; and Gustavus III. was to conduct this crusade on behalf of kings. Irritation rapidly rose into frenzy. Francis II. succeeded Leopold in A.D. 1792, adopting more moderate language, after it was too late. Louis XVI. and his assembly soon ceased to work well together: the latter levelled resolutions against emigrant princes, against the nonjuring clergy, against all that was venerable or respectable in the land; to which his majesty would be no party. Royalism had to run into holes for safety; Jacobinism came out of them, erecting its crest, like a cockatrice, in high places. Once in office, the serpent lengthened his coils: red caps were worn by its adherents as a badge of their warfare against moderation and half-measures; the guillotine also appeared, with more work for it in prospect than the human pride of patriotism could ever have imagined. Foreign policy, moreover, assumed a menacing aspect. France had declared Corsica and Avignon integral parts of the kingdom; whilst in arranging the eighty-three new departments, the rights of certain German states had been compromised. Yet, of course, these were flimsy pretexts with the external powers for taking up arms against the principles of the revolution. The first coalition had to face three armies, under Luckner, Rochambeau, and La Fayette,

without credit on either side, or any decisive results. Austria and Prussia in their manifestoes plainly announced that they considered the king at Paris under duress; whilst the Duke of Brunswick, with enormous forces, penetrated Luxemburg, reduced the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, marching, as it seemed, directly upon the metropolis. The published language of the allies even exceeded the folly of their actions, stupendous as that must appear. It was responded to by the March of the Marseillese, which infused into every soul that heard it almost infernal passions for battle. In the affairs of Grand Pré and Valmy, Dumouriez and Kellermann sustained the fire of the terrible Prussian artillery; and Dillon held the passes of Argonne against the Hessians. Every hope of victory vanished from amongst the invaders; they had merely accelerated the frightful triumphs of Sansterre and his sansculottes. The revolts of the 20th of June and the 10th of August were only samples of the future; in the latter, the king fled from the Tuileries to the hall of the Legislative Assembly. The palace was sacked and plundered; the faithful Swiss were massacred, after selling their lives dearly. Several thousands of the combatants had fallen. La Fayette escaped over the frontier into a captivity of five years, —not altogether, perhaps, unmerited. A Convention of the Sovereign People to all intents and purposes superseded the Legislative Assembly; and the horrors of ochlocracy, or mob-government, now overshadowed the political heavens. The sovereignty of France had become vested in the municipality of Paris. A tribunal of blood, with the guillotine as its emblem and instrument, was declared permanent. Monarchy receded before avowed republicanism; Louis XVI., with his family, found their final refuge in the prison of the Temple. The September butcheries drenched the streets with gore; nobles, priests, and women were slaughtered like sheep in a shamble. Three Dukes of La Rochefoucault were forgotten amongst the murdered; when, on the top of a pole, the beautiful features of the young Princess of Lamballe, innocent yet brutally decapitated, turned pale amidst those floating

tresses which the votaries of fashion, in their
had compared to the locks of Berenice.

Emissaries sallied forth in many directio
in the provinces those scenes which had fille
polis with dismay. The Convention almost
split into the factions of the Girondists and Ja
former comprising a set of visionaries, like Briss
and their colleagues, one and all under the ha
that earthquakes and volcanoes are manageable
vast machines, of which the springs and pulley
guided by a check-string. They styled themsel
stitutionalists, or Moderates; a name which histo
lates into Incapables. Their antagonists were
wicked, less polished and brilliant, but infinitely mo
sistent and in earnest. The Brissotines seemed t
no idea that principles are realities, or that they a
souls of actions. It was their notion, that religion
mere piece of philosophy; that the solid walls of so
might repose with perfect safety upon clouds; and
reason was much more than a sufficient substitute for
velation. The Jacobins, on the other hand, were unveil
villains; there was no hypocrisy in their mouths, i
there could be no mistake as to their meaning: fro
their elevated seats in the Convention, they were called the
Mountain. The latter soon acquired supremacy from the
mere force of circumstances; they were the genuine chil-
dren of the French Revolution, just as the Anabaptists had
been of the German Reformation. Every vestige of roy-
alty was to be deleted from the face of the nation, and
clamours grew loud for the accusation, trial, condemna-
tion, and execution of the incarcerated monarch. Fronchet,
Malesherbes, and Desèze undertook his defence; if that
term may be applied to any portion of an inquest as to
which its all-powerful instigators had made up their minds
beforehand. On the 21st of January, A.D. 1793, Louis
XVI. died upon the scaffold; his unconditional sentence
having been pronounced by no very large majority. The
Gironde struggled in vain, as they said, against the ene-
mies of law and order, forgetful that the roots of these had

been by its own members originally plucked up. Whoever would not go on with the criminals, as has been well observed, could only withdraw from the arena, or otherwise the revolution marched over his corpse. The labouring mountain now brought forth a Revolutionary Tribunal, from which there was no appeal; while the property of whomsoever it punished became a forfeiture at once to the state. Nine individuals were chosen out of it to form a Dictature, under the title of the Committee for Public Safety. Among its earliest victims were the Girondists, of whom twenty-two were proscribed and executed, out of the thirty-four that were ordered to be arrested. Roland and his wife, Pétion, Condorcet, Brissot, were the most eloquent, clever, or interesting of them. But war now maddened the populace from without, whilst famine, confusion, and exasperated disappointment inflamed it from within, until the approaching Reign of Terror transformed the metropolis, as well as other cities, into so many charnel-houses. The fear of the guillotine, no less than the fervour of patriotism, filled the ranks of the army. The mouth of the cannon, with its roar and excitement, appeared to the reckless fanaticism of France a more desirable destiny than the cold edge of an axe descending upon the nape of the neck, amid the leers and hisses of an enraged multitude. General Montesquieu fell upon Savoy; Anselme took Nice, with its entire country; Custine invaded Germany; Dumouriez conquered Belgium. The victory of Jemappes opened the gates of Brussels; at Liège the French were received as liberators and benefactors: in Holland some of the towns followed this example; but the Princes of Coburg and Brunswick, acting for Austria and Prussia, after the various actions of Aldenhofen, Tirlemont, Neerwinden, and Loewen, drove the assailants out of the Netherlands, with nearly as much rapidity as they had manifested in the aggression. Dumouriez had become suspected; so that in the end he crossed the frontier, and saved himself, with the young Duke of Chartres, from the tender mercies of the Convention.

Great Britain, Holland, and Spain then formally joined the alliance against France, who had insolently proffered

fraternity and protection to all nations prepare
the yoke from their shoulders of royalism, pries
aristocracy. Sardinia and Portugal added the
the fray, to say nothing of Russia and Naples.
contentions also began: one in the north and w
several departments fought for the Gironde a
Mountain; another in La Vendée, where religio
alism attempted to maintain themselves in th
Toulon surrendered to an Anglo-Spanish fleet
mirals Hood and Langara, with immense mag
frigates, and seventeen ships of the line. Lo
was proclaimed; and the names of La Roche
Charette, Stofflet, Sapineau, are never to be
their followers were proscribed to a man. W
publican forces entered their precincts, old ag
youth or loveliness, and even children in th
were sacrificed in promiscuous massacre. Ruins
surrounded the path of the victors; districts
became so many aceldamas. Meanwhile, anoth
stitution was still-born; for it never came into
operation, founded as it was upon absolute demc
democracy having at this very period inaugurate
of Terror. Five hundred thousand soldiers were
the frontiers; the crater of political passion anc
which the entire kingdom had transformed itse
all around with bayonets; within and without
it was ascertained that a million of deaths occur
the comparatively brief interval of eighteen mc
1793-5, from the sword of the enemy, the b
assassin, the axe of the executioner, and the
destitution. Marie Antoinette, the Princess
Philip Egalité, and the son of the late monarch,
cessively murdered; leaders of renown, sages i
those who had won laurels in the field, or bays in
the cabinet, or the laboratory,—all trod the sa
ward path, a melancholy procession! Vandalisr
its vile weapons against whatever was gay, or be
attractive, or instructive. Religion, as its bitte
had abhorred from the beginning. A republica
was substituted for the Christian almanac; no

the Church could be now observed. The blasphemous spirit in which the symbolical Goddess of Reason was worshipped, in the person of a naked prostitute, can have no description in these pages, any more than the suppression of Catholic services, the worse than pagan persecution of the priesthood, or the flagitious announcement that death was an eternal slumber! The immorality perpetrated at this period no pen could or can record. Three monsters successively ruled the Mountain,—Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. A dagger, planted in his bosom by Charlotte Corday, relieved the world of the first; the second, after revelling in slaughter, had to yield to the third, who sent his predecessor to the guillotine, as a precursor of his own terrible yet deserved destiny. It was under Robespierre that the horrors of the time attained their highest altitude. His tongue flowed with the sentimentalism of humanity; his heart had become heated into a hell of revenge, fury, hatred, and rage for blood. The entire character of his mind was the quintessence of mere worldly philanthropy in a red livery. Meanwhile military defeat had changed into triumph both at home and abroad. La Vendée paid dearly for her fidelity and loyalism; and from Tours to Nantes the Loire seemed to roll its waters through desolated departments. Lyons, the seat of manufactures, full of affluence and magnificence, rued the hour in which she had ventured to resist the Jacobins. Six thousand persons expired in the executions and massacres of Collot d'Herbois; but the victorious troops of the Convention marched onward to Bordeaux and Marseilles, every where quenching the sparks of resistance to their will in the blood of their fellow-countrymen and adversaries. Toulon was reconquered by Dugommier; on the Upper Rhine the Austrians and Prussians were forced to retire. The campaign of A.D. 1794 yielded still greater consequences. Coburg lost the decisive battle of Fleurus on the day after midsummer; Pichegru drove before him the English and Dutch, under the Duke of York, back towards Holland. That republic had become weary of the House of Orange, imposed upon it, as the patriots averred, by foreign arms; the severe winter also favoured the invaders, as they were able to pass the

ice, and penetrate to the fortresses and great town
stadtholder resigned, and sought a home in London
land had now to follow in the wake of France, as an a
daughter; in reality, as a subordinate and revolut
satellite. Her bank also relieved the exhausted tr
of her conquerors, and a moiety of both her fleets an
forces were subject to their orders. In Italy and
similar successes awaited the tricolour. Madrid trem
and sued for peace. At Paris, the crowded prisons
gave out tumbril after tumbril of victims for the scaff
the meek virgin, the spotless matron, the venerable fat
dutiful sons and daughters, broken-hearted parents, l
priests. It was not until the Terrorists quarrelled amon
themselves that a gleam of hope appeared; but at l
the revolution of the 9th Thermidor, as it was terme
effected the overthrow of the tyrant. Tallien led the wa
by denouncing his atrocities in the Convention. The wretch
on being arrested with much difficulty at the Hotel d
Ville, discharged a pistol into his mouth, which only shat-
tered his lower jaw, without destroying him. At the
guillotine, his executioner tore away the bandage, which
drew from him a howl of agony before the knife fell and
severed his head into the basket. His brother, with twelve
others, perished on the same scaffold; eighty-three more
of the Terrorists were decapitated on the two following
days, amidst savage shouts of vindictive jubilation. There
was afterwards a lull in the storm.

The expedition of the British against Quiberon, after the
death of Louis XVII. in the Temple, only revived the Ven-
déan war, and afforded an opportunity for General Hoche
to overwhelm the enemies of the republic. It required the
greatest caution and moderation to substitute another con-
stitution in the place of that which the execrations of the
people had but just put down. Between a strong and sud-
den reaction in favour of royalism and aristocracy on the
one hand, and those agents of evil connected with the Reign
of Terror on the other, who were still ready for rallying
once more round the guillotine and the red cap of liberty,
the celebrated Directory was concocted as an intermediate
sort of government, seeming to combine a sufficient deve-

lopment of freedom with the advantages of a strong executive; yet military force was requisite for its introduction and installation. There was a young officer of artillery at this time in Paris, who had distinguished himself within the trenches before Toulon, and for which he had been appointed brigadier-general in the Italian army; it was no other than Napoleon Bonaparte, to whom was consigned the task of the 13th Vendemiaire, 5th October, A.D. 1795. His cannon, loaded with grape-shot and planted at the head of the streets, soon shattered the assembling insurgents, and decided the victory of order at the expense of 2000 deaths, and the deadly conflict of about an hour; some arrests and executions, but to no great extent, completed the arrangement. The Convention, previous to its expiry, elected the two-thirds of its members who were to enter the Legislative Councils; then formed from them, and out of the recently-chosen remaining third, the Councils of the Ancients and the Five Hundred; then nominated the five directors, Lepaux, Sieyes (who resigned in favour of Carnot), Reubel, Letourneur, and Barras; and finally published an act of amnesty. The French nation certainly rallied round their new governors, who, on their part, exerted themselves diligently to repair the finances, as well as re-organise the other institutions of society. Foreign affairs were in their favour: Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia seceded from the coalition. The revival of agriculture and commerce at home, with several fresh imposts, poured seasonable supplies into the public treasury. The national bankruptcy itself, through its universality, lost a portion of its calamitous character, since all classes were alike roused to make unusual exertions, or endure with patience extraordinary privations. Jourdan had passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and repulsed the Austrians in the summer; and Mannheim was taken also by Pichegru; upon which, however, Wurmser returned, and, together with Clairfait, cleared the right bank of the river before the close of the year, when the exhausted troops on both sides at last retired into winter-quarters. The policy of Great Britain, guided by William Pitt, had hitherto met with slight success. Through a system of subsidies he had set large armies in

motion, and allayed for the moment aristocratic apprehensions and clerical agitation. The three kingdoms were awakening out of the torpor of the current century, and craving the abolition of many abuses. Down to the darker atrocities of the Reign of Terror, thousands and tens of thousands watched the progress of the French Revolution with most intense sympathy and interest. The results of the American war had satisfied the middle classes that their boasted constitution stood greatly in need of revision; that kingcraft and statecraft, as then exercised, involved an enormous amount of oppression and imposture; that, in effect, an oligarchy governed the country very much for its own private purposes; that the religion of the Anglican Establishment lay in the subscription of articles not generally believed, and the taking of tithes, as well as spending them, after a very worldly fashion; and that parliamentary reform promised to be a panacea for several of these evils. Hence there sprang up clamours of various kinds, which George III., with his peers and parsons, endeavoured to frown and preach into silence by making out every Dissenter an infidel, and every liberal a Jacobin. English Catholics were too few to attract attention, nor had the cries for emancipation as yet pierced the gloom. The emigrants from France, indeed, were received with noble and generous hospitality; prejudices against Popery being suspended in the fears that Atheism might prevail, and devour the fat pastures of episcopalian Protestantism. Pitt skilfully availed himself of this position of things: enlisting the baser passions of his countrymen under false banners, they were for years persuaded that the contest was one for the preservation of hearths and homes, which it afterwards became; but in reality its earlier period was a series of sacrifices suggested and supported for the maintenance of close boroughs, and antiquated yet most profitable abuses.

That there was a substratum of inflammable materials beneath the foundations of society in England, is not denied; nor that the juncture was a perilous one, when the torch of revolution was being hurried from hand to hand across the channel, our own circumstances being what they then were. All that is contended for is, that the royal, aris-

tocratic, and clerical abhorrence of the French Revolution rested upon selfish considerations. An unreformed House of Commons, two-thirds of whose members were nominated, not by the people whom they professed to represent, but by the upper branch of the legislature or large landed proprietors, listened to the illusive eloquence of Burke, and resisted every popular concession. The minister cast behind his back the brighter and better principles of his earlier days, and allied himself with mere rank, and privilege, and tyranny. He augmented the standing army in the most dangerous manner, restricted the press, augmented the debt by hundreds of millions, excited mutiny on board our fleets, and drove Ireland into rebellion. Corsica was captured in vain, A.D. 1794; the Cape of Good Hope surrendered the following year; besides which, the Dutch lost their possessions in Ceylon and the East Indies, Demerara in the West, and the flower of their naval forces in the tremendous engagement off Camperdown, 11th Oct. A.D. 1797. The victory off St. Vincent, eight months before, had scattered the Spanish marine, and conferred an earldom on Admiral Jervis: but notwithstanding so much glory abroad, the lower orders groaned at home; every department of trade, agriculture, and industry suffered from the public burdens; while hostile privateers infested the seas, and preyed upon our commerce in every quarter. The birthplace of Bonaparte was wrested from its captors, the island from that time being incorporated permanently with France. Neither the temporary tranquillity of Denmark, nor the assassination of the King of Sweden, nor the second and third partitions of Poland, nor the misfortunes of Austria, enabled the Earl of Malmesbury to bring his negotiations for peace to a prosperous issue, at Paris or Lisle, A.D. 1796-7; for the dazzling career of Napoleon had now commenced. At the age of twenty-eight he had taken from the Directory, owing as they did their political existence to his gallantry and firmness, the command of the Italian army, March A.D. 1796. Opposed by the Austrian and Sardinian forces under General Beaulieu, the young hero swept his experienced adversary from post to post; pressing on him without rest, and achieving a chain of

triumphs without interruption. In fourteen days he accomplished what the National Convention had fruitlessly striven for during three years. Savoy, Nice, and Tenda were yielded to France by Sardinia. His passage of the bridge at Lodi gave him Lombardy and Milan, with a contribution of twenty millions. Venice, as the sun of her glory was sinking out of sight, endeavoured by secret payments to purchase security and forbearance. It was now plain to the emperor that upon Mantua would depend his re-conquest of Italy, before which city the French had opened their trenches in July. Meanwhile, his brother, the Archduke Charles, had gained two victories over Jourdan; at the time Moreau, setting out from Strasbourg, was forcing the defiles of the Black Forest, and advancing through Swabia and Bavaria towards the head of the Adriatic, where he might have joined Napoleon. But the archduke saved Austria and Germany; escaping from Moreau at Ingoldstadt, to the left bank of the Danube, and beating Bernadotte and Jourdan in the successive battles of Teinning, Amburg, and Wurtzburg. Moreau, therefore, was compelled to retreat through the famous Hell Pass, which he did in the most masterly manner. But Bonaparte retrieved these disasters by his repeated triumphs over four imperial armies at Arcole, Rivoli, and other fields of fame; until General Wurmser surrendered Mantua on the Festival of the Purification, A.D. 1797, with five hundred pieces of heavy artillery, immense magazines stored with the munitions of war, and a garrison of twelve thousand soldiers. Eighteen thousand had perished in the siege through sickness or the sword. The Pontifical States were then plundered of thirty millions in money, the choicest and rarest treasures of art, and the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; besides having to cede Avignon and the Venaissin. Such was the treaty of Tolentino. Two republics were now organised out of the Italian conquests, the Cispadane and Transpadane. The court of Vienna still refused to treat; expecting, probably, real and effective assistance from Russia. But the Empress Catharine had died in the previous November, and her eccentric son and successor Paul detached himself from the coalition.

Francis II. then summoned the Hungarians to defend, as he said, the throne, the Church, and the nobility; endangered, as these all were, by the ferocity and cruelty of France. In her name, nevertheless, Napoleon lost not a moment in attacking the Archduke Charles; and gained another brilliant series of victories, which brought him to Clagenfurt, Layback, and the foot of the Brenner mountains in the Tyrol. Austria could now only succumb; more especially as the military position of her conqueror was not altogether without its dangers. To save Vienna, therefore, the preliminaries of Leoben were arranged, leading to the peace of Campo Formio, 17th Oct. A.D. 1797; whereby Austria renounced all the Netherlands in favour of the French Republic, obtaining as an indemnity the Venetian territories of the Adriatic capital, from the Lago di Guarda, including Istria, Dalmatia, and the isles, to the Bocca di Cattaro; but Corfu, with its six Greek sisters, forming the Septinsular Republic, and the possessions in Albania, were to belong to France. The Cisalpine Republic, of which Modena was a part, and to which Mantua and Brescia were added, was recognised by the emperor. He also acquiesced, by a secret article, in the cession of the entire left bank of the Rhine, from Basle downwards, to the confluence of the Nethe at Andernach, with the city and fortress of Mayence. The Duke of Modena was to be satisfied with the Brisgaw, and the other displaced Rhenish sovereigns were to find petty principalities in Germany. The pillars of the old political system thus lay prostrate; Venice, as a state, disappeared with Poland from the map of Europe; France ruled from the frontiers of Rome to the Rhine and Holland. The German empire was abandoned to its fate, and Napoleon Bonaparte had become heir to the fortunes of the French Revolution. The Batavian and Ligurian republics were also included in the peace.

The Directory, within about two years, underwent the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, September A.D. 1797, which modified its external aspect; got rid of Carnot, with many others; transported the unsuccessful minority to Cayenne; and revoked the laws made in favour of priests and emigrants. This change for the worse, however, had

more in its bark than its bite; people had got weary of sanguinary civil conflicts, besides having their attention fastened upon the expedition against Egypt. Yet the permanent consequences of all that had happened since the States-General assembled under Louis XVI. began to be visible, if not apparent: statesmen could no longer avoid conviction, that all classes have their rights; that property, rank, office, position, and privileges, have each of them their peculiar responsibilities. Religion had always taught this; yet so obtuse had the wealthy and powerful of the world become, that they stood in need of some tremendous lesson being practically learned; just as the old Divine law had to be listened to from Mount Sinai, amidst whirlwind, darkness, and storm. Henceforward, therefore, the whole system of abuses has seemed to crack from top to bottom; even where social abominations stood out like pyramids, wrapt in the prejudices and associations of antiquity, even there have the fissures of decay and approaching abolition appeared. Added to this great fact has been the gradual growth and influence of public opinion. The Czar of all the Russias could not now do what the half-insane Paul dared to do—a precious potentate, whom some still alive can remember. It perhaps required such a shock as that of the French Revolution to set free the imprisoned elements of thought, and bring the invisible mind of Europe so to bear upon institutions, as that bad ones get exchanged for better; or if not, are yet so modified in their operation, that results are very different to what they would otherwise have appeared. Almost identical with this has been an expansion of the general intellect, as applied to art, science, law, and literature; to practical if not theoretical government, to the comforts of life, means of intercommunication, trade, commerce, agriculture, machinery, and manufactures. The formation of middle classes has been another consequence partly arising from the general improvement—particularly where the tenure of land has been so altered as to place this coveted sort of property within general reach, or where the universal subdivision of wealth has been favoured, or the breaking down of monopolies and selfish systems may have thrown open opportunities for ame-

liorating their circumstances to those who were before excluded. What has existed in England for generations,—that is to say, an intermediate gradation between the peer and the peasant, the very opulent and the extremely indigent,—in other words, a middle class between the gentry and the labourer, is now becoming more or less common throughout the continent. Of course, such observations must be understood with considerable latitude on all sides; yet they would probably be made by any intelligent mediævalist, could he return to these sublunary scenes, and witness the effects of that wonderful event which terminated the last century. It has, moreover, been now proved, beyond any reasonable power of contradiction, that faith must be the foundation of morals; that society without religious belief is an absurdity. However lovely may be for a time its external aspect, yet to conceive of it, as materialists and calculators and rationalists fancy it, is to imagine a dream or a vision, an unreality, an existence like that of Undine in the German romance, who was to have no soul until she married. France had an ordeal to pass through, which she had no means of escaping. When the direct lineage of Hugh Capet came to an end, the succeeding dynasties of Valois, Bourbon, and Orleans were destined to exhibit her sin and her just punishment, for having attempted to put asunder what Almighty God has joined together. From Philip the Fair downwards, the French monarchs were always ready to deal with the Holy See as if it were some unnatural parent, instead of a loving mother of churches, and the only centre of unity. Adversity may have proved herself the best instructress, if the improved reaction shall but proceed as it has lately promised. Feudalism is no more; for its grave was dug by the National and Legislative Assemblies. Republicanism has died, revived, and expired again, beneath the sword and sceptre of imperialism. Let France but steadily remember her high vocation, as the secular heart of Christendom, and she will find that there is a future before her which will surpass her highest aspirations, and bring down upon her the benedictions of all nations, from pole to pole, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth!

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1798—1815.

NAPOLEON TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

AMIDST the various changes through which Europe in general, and France in particular, were passing, the attention of the world concentrated itself upon a military hero. Napoleon had risen out of the revolutionary confusions, like the vision of war, with its helmet on, which frowned over the cauldron of the witches in *Macbeth* before it sank into the ground. He foresaw that his absence for an interval would more thoroughly than any thing else disclose the weakness of the Directory, and plant his ladder for an ascent to supreme power. He sailed from Toulon on the 26th May, A.D. 1798; captured Malta by the way within six days, thus acquiring 1200 pieces of artillery, besides several millions of money in gold and silver; landed at Alexandria, and took the city by assault; then marched to Cairo, after beating the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids; and received in their capital the news of Nelson's victory in August. That irresistible admiral thus rendered illustrious the Bay of Aboukir, and encouraged the formation of a second coalition against the French; who had ravaged Italy, abolished, as they thought, the papal government, and revolutionised Switzerland. The Congress of Rastadt unveiled the betrayal of Germany by Austria, who now coalesced with the Emperor Paul; while Naples and Sardinia dared to commence hostilities against the armies of the Republic in Italy. The horrible assassination of their plenipotentiaries concluded the congress at Rastadt. Suwarrow was advancing rapidly from Gallicia; the Archduke Charles repeatedly defeated Jourdan and his colleagues; when the Russians had joined him, Mantua was once more invested; the Parthenopean Republic was formed and overthrown; the Ionian islands became the prize of a fleet of Muscovites and Turks from the Black Sea and Constantinople; and the tricolour lost all its acquisitions as easily as it had gained them. But

the Austrians and their northern allies unfortunately separated, through jealousy as to the laurels that were to be gathered in Switzerland. This enabled Massena to get between them, and save France by discomfiting both her enemies in detail. Suwarrow cut his way bloodily over St. Gothard and through the Grisons; but the second coalition also failed in Holland, where the Duke of York surrendered; so that Great Britain was mortified, and the court of St. Petersburg disgusted. Meanwhile, Bonaparte, having subdued Egypt, and found it impossible to conquer Syria, suddenly reappeared at Frejus before the middle of October. His time was now come for setting aside his civil masters, and laying the foundations of his own throne. In the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, 9th November, A.D. 1799, he dissolved the Directory with a stroke of his pen and a touch of his sword. Assuming a temporary dictatorship, he set up the consular constitution, which was published and accepted on Christmas-day. At the head of it of course he placed himself, with two merely nominal colleagues; possessing a prerogative for ten years over the finances, the internal government, as well as foreign alliances. There were also three other bodies, under the names of senators, legislators, and tribunes, all acting but as so many agents to the First Consul. Exiles were recalled; twenty thousand venerable emigrants returned to the bosom of their families; the persecuting proscription of priests was reversed; a division of the kingdom into twenty-five military districts restored order at the expense of every vestige of freedom. Again the Vendeans and Chouans seized their arms; and again were their noble yet irregular efforts quenched in tears. Bonaparte now wrote a letter with his own hand to George III., suggesting pacification; but it was not until his eagles had soared in triumph over the plains of Marengo that Austria yielded to necessity, more especially after Moreau had annihilated her German armies in the terrible action of Hohenlinden. Three hundred thousand troops, flushed with victory, were on their road to Vienna. The treaties of Luneville, Florence, Badahoz, and at last Amiens, in addition to those made with Russia, Turkey, and Ber-

barv, afforded some temporary truces to Europe, A.D. 1800-2. England had re-conquered Malta and Egypt: her union with Ireland appeared to have strengthened her domestic energies; but Pitt nobly resigned when his narrow-minded sovereign refused to emancipate the Catholics. The national debt had risen to five hundred millions sterling; while the Baltic states were reviving the armed neutrality. Great Britain shook her trident with vengeance against such menacing measures; Nelson bombarded Copenhagen; the sudden removal of the Emperor Paul alone prevented an attack upon the Swedish and Russian fleets. His successor Alexander ceased to persist in his pretensions, either with regard to the former maritime league twenty years before, or as respected the grand-mastership of Malta. The Knights of St. John therefore ought to have had their own again; but as matters turned out, they did not obtain it. Tranquillity was as hollow and deceptive in its appearances as it proved brief in its duration.

The realm of France was, however, at all *hazards* to be conciliated. Roads were laid out; canals dug; dikes, harbours, and bridges constructed; the spirit and genius of invention encouraged by honours and rewards; and the arrangements of adjacent countries rendered subservient to French interests. The magnanimity of the First Consul, as a regent, had its drawbacks: yet when he culminated, like a blazing star, it was felt that another Cæsar reigned. His celebrated code was already projected; the Legion of Honour was created. A Concordat was concluded with the Pope, imposing chains upon the Church of God, just as the world always does; although at the precise moment when Omnipotence pleases, every manacle or fetter is seen miraculously to fall from the hands and feet of the successor of St. Peter. His Holiness gave an entirely new episcopate to the empire: ten archbishops and fifty bishops to be appointed by the executive, but installed from Rome; the curates were to be nominated by the prelates, subject to governmental ratification. No long interval elapsed before Bonaparte, after an appeal to the nation, came to be declared consul for life. An hereditary imperial diadem

was now evidently gleaming through the smoke and dust with which all classes endeavoured to conceal their labours in closing up the sepulchre of the republic. A regular court assembled in the saloons of the Tuileries. Enghien, the grandson of Condé, was arrested in Baden, brought to Vincennes, and cruelly shot in the ditches of the castle. The various passions of a French public were all appealed to: fear of a return to terrorism; the love of pomp and parade, equipages and fashion; the flattery of national ambition, in the homage paid to rank, fortune, and titles. Moreau, the hero of Hohenlinden, the single luminary that might possibly compete in glory with the ascending sun, was falsely accused, implicated in the misprision of treason, and relegated to America. The conspiracy of Georges seemed to furnish the desired opportunity. The Bourbons were banished for ever: their degeneracy was undeniable. Napoleon was solemnly elected by his subjects as their emperor in every sense of the word: Pius VII. subsequently crowned him in the cathedral of Notre Dame with unexampled prodigality and splendour. His civil list was settled at a million sterling annually; his authority was absolute and despotic; his supporters supplied the materials for a fresh nobility, with sonorous designations and solid emoluments. Yet, before all this could be realised, hostilities had recommenced, and a third coalition taken up the gauntlet. The various states and provinces beyond the Alps were absorbed under French domination, not excepting Liguria and Lucca; for Piedmont and Parma were incorporated amongst the imperial departments, the prince of the last sovereignty being promised an indemnity out of Tuscany. Switzerland was treated with about as little consideration; nor was Malta restored to the Knights of St. John. Hanover was invaded. The iron crown of Lombardy Napoleon placed on his brows as the modern Charlemagne; his sister became queen of Etruria: Francis II., resigning his German style, assumed that of hereditary emperor of Austria. Pitt, who had returned to power, chiefly relied upon his subsidies, which soon brought into the field half a million of men,—the combined forces of Russia, Sweden, and the court of Vienna. Prussia had the

folly to remain neutral, and was therefore eaten last; but the invincible ambition of Napoleon coped with and conquered them all. Harassing Great Britain with incessant threats of invasion, at once to the astonishment of Europe, 300,000 warriors from Boulogne, Hanover, and Holland were pouring over Southern Germany. General Mack was surrounded at Ulm, where he had to capitulate with his entire army. The Archdukes Charles and John were in consequence compelled to retreat from the Tyrol, until the battle of Austerlitz prostrated the standards of Alexander and Francis, leading to the peace of Presburg. The kingdom of Italy, including the Venetian territories on both sides the sea, became an appendage to the French empire; the Tyrol, with other territories, was ceded to Bavaria, now raised to the rank of royalty, and comprising the bishoprics of Brescia, Trent, Burgau, Eichstadt, Passau, Lindau, and Augsburg: Wirtemberg also received a regal title, with several accessions; since, with Baden, it was allowed to divide the nearest Austrian counties. Joseph Bonaparte was elevated to the throne of Naples; and Eugene Beauharnois represented the imperial majesty of Napoleon, his step-father, at Milan. Prussia still dreamed that her disastrous and disgraceful neutrality had answered her own purposes; more especially when she had forced upon her the garment of Nessus, by being obliged to exchange with France Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel, for the provinces of Hanover, which were stolen goods. Of course this involved a disagreement with Great Britain. But meanwhile, Joachim Murat, who had married another sister of the Bonapartes, became Grand Duke of Berg; and Marshal Berthier, bosom friend of the emperor, hereditary prince of Prussian Switzerland. Louis Bonaparte assumed the crown of Holland, A.D. 1805; so that the French empire already extended from Friesland to the Straits of Messina. The Confederation of the Rhine had Napoleon for its protector; in other words, for its ruler: and it was under such circumstances that the besotted court of Berlin had the temerity to declare war, on the 8th of October, A.D. 1806. No sooner was the act of folly committed, than a few days sufficed for the temporary destruction of

that fabric which Frederick the Great had reared with as much talent, iniquity, and labour. The engagements of Jena and Averstadt cost his weak successor 50,000 men, dispersed or ruined his armies, and mutilated that magnificent tract of country from the Rhine to the river side of the Oder, with a population of 5,000,000. Northern Germany groaned beneath the scourge of the stranger: and, in cruel conjunction with the sword, had to furnish him with soldiers and gold.

And now flamed up the Russian war, when many sanguine patriots imagined that the hour of vengeance would arrive for the recent partitions of Poland. The French emperor called the latter nation to arms for the recovery and emancipation of the land of the Piasts and the Jagellons. Warriors and regiments seemed to spring out of the ground, false as the summons was. Many a bloody action ensued. Bonaparte maintained his positions on the Vistula, whilst the Russo-Prussian battalions marched towards the Niemen. Saxony fell into the train of the emperor: its electoral coronet being elevated to the dignity of a royal crown: its ducal branches also swelled the Rhenish Confederation. The conflicts of Eylau and Friedland whitened their fields with the bones of the combatants, so that Alexander quailed at the horrid spectacle. Konigsberg was taken by the French in June; but it was not until July that the treaty of Tilsit, A.D. 1807, disenthralled Russia herself to the policy of France. Nor cost that any territories; on the contrary, she acquired the circle of Bialystock in Prussian Poland, with an augmented population of 350,000 souls. Yet the emancipation, or rather subjugation of Berlin, as a vassal court to that of Paris: the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was erected for Poland: Jerome, the third brother of Napoleon, was placed on a Westphalian throne raised on the ruins of Hanover: the new sovereigns of Naples and Holland, with the other territorial satellites of the French empire, and the German Confederation, were acknowledged; a cession was made of the Ionian Islands, Cattaro, and Ragusa in a secret article; in addition to which there was the mere illusory attempt at mediation, on the part of Austria

towards England, to involve in the end an alliance with France against her. Russia, moreover, was to assist in the compulsion of Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, that they should unite in the continental system for the exclusion of British manufactures. Prussia forfeited half her territories and all her prestige in these negotiations and their consequences. Dresden at this time became the resort of crowned heads and great personages, amongst whom principalities and dignities were distributed at the behest and will of one mighty mind. His Berlin and Milan decrees had declared the three kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland in a state of blockade,—assertions of absolute power the more absurd, since the late victory of Trafalgar had swept away every hostile vessel from the ocean, except the triumphant flag of George III. and his allies. The Cape of Good Hope was reconquered; and although Pitt had died, the Whigs, on taking office, doubled the income-tax, and pledged themselves to prosecute the war. Whatever achievements France might perform on land, her colonies were altogether lost, through the annihilation of her maritime forces. *Her share* of St. Domingo had once enjoyed a commercial prosperity equivalent to all the rest of the West Indies put together; the cries of liberty resounding from the banks of the Seine found a remarkable echo in those beautiful regions, where negro-slavery in its darkest character had so long violated the laws of God and the rights of man. Yet it was the Christian religion alone which could manage the delicate operation of gradually restoring to a correct juxtaposition the respective races of the blacks and the whites; instead of this, however, the abstractions of Rousseau and St. Pierre were let loose at Hayti, until it became a gehenna of revenge, faction, social disorganisation, and massacre. Victor Hughes, the English, Toussaint, and Dessalines, with many more, kindled or extinguished the confusion, too often with little beyond their own private ends or advantages in view. Bonaparte had resolved to reconquer the island after the Peace of Amiens was signed; and Le Clerc, the husband of his sister Pauline, was sent thither with an army for the purpose: but the expedition only terminated in disaster. St. Domingo separated into a kingdom and a republic;

Christophe being sovereign of the one, and Petion president of the other. The British took the principal city in A.D. 1809, while French supremacy had withered away at least five years before. General Boyer succeeded Petion; but whilst the philanthropic abolitionists were rendering their best services to the sons of Africa, Napoleon seemed to forget them entirely in his ambitious designs upon the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula.

The Bourbons had degenerated at Madrid to the lowest depths of degradation. The favourite of Charles IV. was Manuel Godoy, an incapable personage rejoicing in his title of the Prince of Peace. He had thrown each department into such dire disorder, that every man in the realm hoping for any improvement looked to the Crown-Prince Ferdinand: so that the royal family possessed neither domestic unity, nor the talents for extricating themselves from their daily increasing difficulties. Napoleon conceived the idea of assimilating Spain to France, setting aside the present dynasty altogether, and substituting in their stead his brother Joseph. Through a variety of skilful artifices, he literally carried out these astounding projects. Charles and Ferdinand both fell into his snares: the fortresses of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona, were seized; Madrid was occupied by French troops; the sedition of Aranjuez and the transactions at Bayonne, with the apparent consent of the king and his son, placed Joseph on the throne of Spain: Murat succeeded him at Naples; the national junta afforded its delusive sanction to a representative constitution; and in the imperial language at Paris, the Pyrenees politically were no more! Then rose up the insulted people: another junta at Seville hurled defiance against the invaders and their abettors, whether native or foreign; a struggle of six years commenced from that point, and Great Britain mingled in the fray. The battle of Baylen was fought the very day on which the intrusive monarch made his first public entry into the capital. It was among the few victories which the patriots gained by themselves, but it was a noble one; Dumont, with 16,000 men, laid down their arms: it at least lit up a flame of enthusiasm, which was never quite to ex-

pire afterwards. Palafox held Saragossa, with a myriad of half-trained but much-enduring followers. About the same time, the French had appropriated the ancient kingdom of Etruria, as well as that of Portugal; but from the latter the house of Braganza escaped to the Brazils; and Junot was defeated by Wellesley at Vimiera, 21st August, A.D. 1808. The congress at Erfurth, in the autumn of that year, involved secret arrangements between Napoleon and Alexander similar in character to those which were sometimes ventured upon by the autocrats of antiquity,—Russia was to conquer in the north and east, France in the west and south. The emperor of the latter, now no longer under any apprehensions that the treaty of Tilsit would be disregarded, threw the energy of his prowess into the Peninsula. With 200,000 soldiers he crossed the Pyrenean ranges, holding his vast forces at first in combination, like a closed hand; then opening it gradually, he pushed the extremities of strong columns farther and farther into the outlying regions, until his grasp seemed to settle over every quarter of the country. The whole campaign was that of a master in the science of war. General Moore could be no match for such an antagonist; with a few shivering blows he rapidly broke in pieces all obstacles; the retreat of Corunna barely saved the wreck of a fine British host, January A.D. 1809. Even Saragossa fell; and the conqueror withdrew to execute another scheme, leaving his marshals, with their magnificent armies, to complete what he had begun—the military subjugation of Spain. Austria had been establishing a general militia for the last six or eight months, which Napoleon called upon Francis to disarm. But the court at Vienna felt, from the hour in which the Spanish Bourbons were cashiered, that in the general situation of Europe lay the causes for a fourth coalition. England responded to her sympathies; and in the middle of April, having until then answered pacifically yet equivocally to the requisitions from Paris, her final manifesto appeared. An archduke, at the head of immense forces, marched upon Bavaria; a second on the Tyrol and Italy; and a third against Warsaw,—Charles, John, and Ferdinand. Another column marched against

Russia; yet the general issue proved most deplorable. Napoleon fell upon his adversaries with the violence and velocity of a summer thunderstorm; five successive days afforded the results of as many ordinary campaigns. From Pfaffenhofen to Ecmuhl and Ratisbon, he drove back the bravest troops in the world, except his own; so that in a month from the commencement of hostilities he made his triumphal entry into Vienna, the 13th of May, A.D. 1809. The sanguinary slaughter on both sides at Aspern, within ten days afterwards, although it annihilated the French heavy cavalry, and conferred the honours of a victory upon the noble Archduke Charles, yet yielded no substantial advantages. Eleven thousand corpses floated down the Danube from its margin or its islands, and 30,000 more received severe wounds; but the Archduke John, defeated in a bloody battle near Raab, 22d June, was now in full retreat before Eugene Beauharnois, who thereby was enabled to bring enormous reinforcements to Napoleon before the close of a truce for six weeks, which had followed on the exhausting conflict at Aspern. With his recruited forces, therefore, and 600 pieces of artillery, the French emperor crossed the river, and on the 5th and 6th of July fought the gigantic engagement of Wagram. These two awful days, with a third not long afterwards at Znaym, humbled the house of Hapsburg in the dust: a subsequent armistice at Schœnbrun, which matured into the Peace of Vienna, placed at the disposal of Napoleon the Illyrian provinces, formed by him into another state under his imperial sovereignty. Meanwhile the English had failed at Walcheren, as also in their intentions upon the harbour of Antwerp: the war with Russia ceased of itself. More than 3,500,000 souls had been again taken away from the Austrian monarchy; and the favour of the French emperor had aggrandised Alexander, by permitting him to rob Sweden with impunity of nearly a third part of her territories; namely, all Finland, the Aland Islands, with East and West Bothnia to the river Tornea. Gustavus IV. was dethroned, together with his descendants. The Duke of Sudermania succeeded, under the title of Charles XIII.; Bernadotte, one of the marshals of France, being also de-

clared Crown Prince at Stockholm. Bonaparte was not deceived in such an apparent compliment being paid by an independent realm to his already elevated fortunes; he expressed himself ambiguously on the whole subject, yet would not endanger other more important projects by any display of unseasonable jealousy. His grandeur was at its zenith after the Peace of Vienna. Josephine was divorced at the end of the year, with her own consent. Napoleon married Marie Louise, the eldest daughter of Francis, whose son, the King of Rome, was born on the 20th of March, A.D. 1811.

But the meridian of his majesty was passed! In the wantonness of insatiable ambition, he ventured to attack the Church of Almighty God. By an imperial decree, the temporal authority of the Pope was abolished, and his dominions incorporated with the French kingdom of Italy; a royal revenue and residence, either at Rome or Paris, were insultingly offered to the representative of St. Peter. His Holiness responded with an anathema, as righteous in its occasion and character as it proved awfully irresistible in its results. In vain were fresh acts of violence perpetrated; Pius VII. endured his arrest on the Quirinal, his subsequent persecutions and long imprisonment, with a dignity which edified all Christendom. In vain was the Grand Duchy of Frankfort formed, the crown of Westphalia enlarged, Bavaria and Wirtemberg enriched, the Tyrol arbitrarily subdivided, Holland united to the empire of France: her supremacy stretched to the shores of the Baltic; so that, including the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Upper Ems, and the Lippe, there were now 130 departments. In vain were the Alps crossed by an unparalleled road over the Simplon; in vain were the Pyrenees pierced by military lines in every direction. Joseph had made his second entry into Madrid in January A.D. 1809; Marshal Jourdan had the commandership-in-chief over the seven armies which remained in Spain after the departure of Napoleon. British assistance alone sustained the Bourbons; Sir Arthur Wellesley, made Lord Viscount Wellington, gained the battle of Talavera, in New Castile, upon which he had advanced from Portugal. Soult now

succeeded Jourdan, and far surpassed him in activity and penetration. The French established themselves in the south of the Peninsula, with the exception of Cadiz. Wellington and Beresford were pressed by Massena, who invaded the Portuguese provinces, and wrecked his fame and fortunes against the impregnable barriers of the Torres Vedras: the intrusive monarch at Madrid could only supply his treasury by the suppression of monasticism, and a system of plunder and confiscation carried on with the iron hand. The achievements of Suchet assisted to maintain the preponderance of his master through A.D. 1811; but the guerillas scourged the provinces, and the Marlborough of the nineteenth century burst forth from his Lusitanian entrenchments. The Cortes, with a new constitution, elected their deputies. Alexander in the north, at length mindful of his true policy and reputation, was engaging the attention and resources of the master of continental Europe. Tarragona and Valentia had not been fruitlessly defended in their fearful sieges; Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz fell in January and April A.D. 1812; the victory of Salamanca was gained in July, which raised the further investment of the Isle of Leon, and rendered the evacuation of Andalusia necessary. Joseph also left his capital, which Wellington entered in August. He failed, however, before Burgos, and once more retreated towards Portugal. But England now redoubled her efforts. The war, expensive as it was, had excited the interests of the nation; which, through its almost undisputed supremacy at sea, could bear its stupendous burdens without being crushed under them. Soult, with 50,000 choice troops, was summoned for the march to Moscow. Jourdan again resumed the command, with an evil genius in the shape of providential malediction hanging over his head. The grand triumph at Vittoria on the 21st of June A.D 1813 terminated the wretched reign of Joseph Bonaparte. Wellington, Hill, and Graham drove their ruined and scattered enemies past Pampeluna, and through the valleys of Roncevaux. Soult returned with three-fifths of his division to protect the Pyrenees; but it was too late. St. Sebastian and Pampeluna were both captured, after obstinate resistance; for

the noblest representative of Napoleon underwent as severe a mortification as any of his colleagues, and had to fall back behind the Bidassoa. Again beaten at Bayonne, in November, he retired further into France. Suchet had also retreated in the previous July from Valentia to Barcelona, after the destruction of Tortona. Every step of the Duke of Wellington seemed to bring up laurels from the soil he trod upon.

But farther north the phenomena of warfare appeared the most remarkable. Napoleon and Alexander had grown dissatisfied with each other. The former was under the ban of the Church; and bereft of his instinctive wisdom, resolved to realise his project of universal dominion before the contest in the Peninsula was decided. Russia had been wearing out her nascent resources in a struggle with the Sublime Porte, which England happily adjusted by the Peace of Bucharest; this brought down her southern boundary to the Pruth, May A.D. 1812. An alliance then ensued between the courts of Stockholm, London, and St. Petersburg; since Bonaparte was clearly revolving in his mind what he presently attempted to accomplish,—seizing moreover upon Oldenburg, and requiring peremptorily the strictest adherence to his favourite continental system. Not meeting with respectful obedience, he summoned to his standards a muster of nearly twenty nations. Such armies as Europe had never seen, for numbers and variety, crossed the Niemen. Alexander withdrew wisely enough as the invaders advanced, and the summer wore away.

They had occupied Wilna towards the end of June, with a very inadequate commissariat for a host of 500,000 soldiers, to say nothing of that mixed multitude always following in the trail of hostile aggression. Smoke and rapine marked their course to Smolensko, which was stormed and pillaged on the 18th of August. The battle of Borodino opened the road to Moscow, where in September the Kremlin received the conqueror, amazed at the ominous desertion of its palaces, and the sepulchral silence of the city: it was, as an eloquent writer says, "the limit of his expedition, and the tomb of his greatness." Flames suddenly burst forth in a hundred places, until the vast

metropolis of the Czars resembled an ocean of fire! Instead of winter-quarters with abundance, the campaign had brought the proud oppressor to a waste of blackened ruins, with the frosts of Russia ready to inflict destruction upon his rear, and thus answer the question which had once started from his lips, as to whether muskets would fall out of the fingers of his men after the Pope had excommunicated him;—they soon did so, at all events. An immediate abandonment of the capital might possibly have saved myriads of warriors; but the wily Kutusoff amused his awe-struck victims with cruel negotiations late into the third week of October. There were 700 miles to cross through a desolated and exasperated country; down came the snow in frightful stillness upon the memorable retreat from Moscow; cold not to be endured by human beings or animals killed thousands hour after hour; every morning spread before the wretched infantry and cavalry a long and cheerless winding-sheet, upon which a vast majority of their numbers would have to sleep in death before the night shed around the survivors an accumulation of woes. History refuses to delineate scenes which imagination can scarcely conceive. The Cossacks hovered on the flanks to impale stragglers; whole columns sometimes surrendered without an attempt at resistance; weapons were repeatedly thrown away with the frost-bitten flesh adhering to the horrid iron. Napoleon attacked his pursuers near Krasnoi with enormous losses, while the wreck of his host pushed madly forward to the banks of the bloody Beresina. That river for two days and nights seemed literally covered with corpses. From thence to the central towns of Lithuania it was absolute flight: 1200 pieces of cannon had been driven over that stream in the summer, of which not a single gun or carriage returned; whilst the Russian accounts declare that they buried or burned the next year 300,000 human bodies, and 150,000 dead horses: in plain truth, scarcely one in ten of the invaders came back again in safety; while Napoleon himself only escaped, with his companion Caulincourt, upon a miserable sledge, to bring the tidings of calamity to his own capital. Paris, during his absence, had known conspiracy, which



Great Britain came forward to the crisis wit
and liberality; for the successes of Wellingtor
Peninsula were most opportune. France, me
firmly to the imperial throne, and Germany
field of conflict; within the limits of conti
tion, it is not too much to assert that there v
a million of men under arms. Napoleon d
ponents at Lützen, Bautzen, and Wurscher
him master of Lusatia, forced back the al
Elbe, brought the French from Dresde
besides securing them Hamburg and Lub
were turned on Austria; for with her it
decide with better fortunes than at Austerli
tions of emperors. Supported by hopes ar
the name of Francis, she avowed herself ab
longer the slave of his son-in-law. An addi
soldiers were therefore at once ranged again
den had also openly joined on the same side
the promise of Norway as her compensati
of Finland. Denmark was already condemi
forfeit for taking part with France. Fron
the Italian frontiers, her adversaries were o

simply out of the question; and on the plains of Leipsic, from the 14th to the 19th of October, was fought the immortal battle of nations, in which God gave the allies their grand and decisive victory over the mighty master of war. With hardly 200,000 men, he had to engage half as many again: no talents could bear up against the overwhelming difference, supported too as it was by superior position, enthusiasm, the defection of the Saxons and Wirtembergers, and other adverse circumstances. Eighty thousand perished in the combat; the yoke over Germany was broken into fragments; the defeated armies reached the Rhine in disorder and confusion only less than those which had disorganised the retreat from Moscow. Bavaria also withdrew from Bonaparte, yet not before she could place herself beyond the range of his vengeance. The treaty of Ried, however, drew over the princes of the Confederation to the general alliance. Holland proclaimed the house of Orange as her national dynasty; Italy and Illyria followed the irresistible course of events. The new year of A.D. 1814 dawned over the death of Napoleon's glory; even Murat forsook his imperial benefactor, and fancied that he had saved Naples. Offers nevertheless were made for the integrity of France within its natural boundaries of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine; and when England dissented from such terms, the congress at Chatillon, as late as February, would still have awarded to the French emperor the realm of Louis XVI., allowing for the surrender of six first-rate fortresses as pledges for good behaviour. Bonaparte turned from these latter proposals with disdain: he had already sent back the saintly Pius VII. to the capital of Christendom, with the restoration of some portion of his dominions; whilst Ferdinand VII. of Spain, who until this period had remained a prisoner of state, received not merely his liberty but his kingdom. The allies now poured into France, under Swartzenburg and Blucher, across the upper and middle Rhine, and from the Netherlands under Bulow. At Chaumont, on the 1st of March, the closest confederacy was formed between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for the reinstatement of the Bourbons, raising 600,000 men, and Great Britain finding

5,000,000*l.* sterling of subsidies. Napoleon, thus su
never appeared greater. Personally he had o
bound victory to his banners from the commenc
the fatal year, at Brienne, Champ-Aubert, Ma
Joinville, Nangis, and Montereau, down to the
February. At these places he crushed alternat
multinominal and heroic legions of his enemies, n
standing their numerical supremacy, compelling t
last to retire, with enormous losses, out of Champa
the frontiers. He fell indeed, and that deservedly,
had degenerated into the imperial criminal and dea
of Europe; but like the tiger in his jungle, he cont
to the last hour the terror of his destroyers; succum
only to domestic desertion, venal treason, the combina
of an enraged and combined continent, roused into
united action, it is true, by his own unmitigated and
gantic guiltiness. In truth, his hour had arrived; emb
rassments closed him in on every side. The Austrians c
quered Burgundy and Lyons; Wellington was advanci
into the interior. Bayonne was invested, Bourdeaux take
the victory at Tarbes was followed by that of Toulouse
the Duke of Angoulême had appeared in the British camp
Bonaparte took the bold resolution of throwing the wa
into the countries between the Rhine and the Moselle; but
the allies, instead of pursuing him thither, made the best
of their way to Paris. After occupying the heights of Mont
Martre, the capitulation of the 30th of March, A.D. 1814,
it was vainly hoped, let the curtain fall upon the final act
of this most marvellous drama. But it was not so.

Beyond all doubt, however, Soult might have avoided
the bloodshed wasted so heartlessly on the banks of the
Upper Garonne. Napoleon moved rapidly towards the
metropolis, when it was clear how affairs must terminate:
the allies had published a declaration that they would
treat neither with him nor any member of his family. He
was deposed by the senate on the 1st of April; and a re-
stitution of the Bourbons was demanded the next day. At
Fontainebleau he voluntarily abdicated, retaining the impe-
rial title, with the island of Elba for himself, and a revenue
of about 100,000*l.* per annum. The empress was to reign

in full sovereignty over Parma, Placentia, and Guastella. Her consort arrived at his insular exile the very day that Louis XVIII. entered Paris, after an absence of three-and-twenty years from the kingdom. Europe now indulged in immense jubilations. A visit of the Emperor Alexander, with other crowned heads, to England, intoxicated our countrymen, whose elderly monarch, George III., having lost the little reason he had ever enjoyed, in A.D. 1810, was in retirement at Windsor; his eldest son, the Sardanapalus of his age, reigning sumptuously as Regent. Then came the congress of sovereign powers at Vienna in November, which sat till May A.D. 1815. There were present, in person or by their representatives, the rulers of the Roman Church, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, France, Denmark, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hesse, Baden, Saxe Weimar, Brunswick, Nassau, Coburg, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Sweden, Sardinia, Hanover, Saxony, and some others. Meanwhile the brainless Bourbons were promulgating the Charter, and proving by accumulated acts of folly that adversity had taught them nothing. The return of the mighty emperor from Elba once more drove them from their unstable throne. Landing at Cannes with a mere handful of attendants, he was borne back to Paris upon the acclamations of millions. Louis escaped to Ghent, awaiting the issue with his cooks, family, and favourite friends. The monarchs, still assembled in the capital of Austria, launched against their triumphant adversary the most terrible proscriptions; but what was of more importance, every sinew was strained to realise them. All Europe seemed aghast with expectations. The obligations entered into at Chaumont were renewed; nor was their dreaded object less active in his preparations. Pressing forward with 170,000 men into Belgium, he crossed the Sambre, and defeated the Prussians in a murderous affair near Ligny, on the 16th of June. On the same day Marshal Ney hazarded an action with the Duke of Brunswick at Quatre Bras, where the latter was slain, pierced with a ball through his heart, after having received several earlier wounds. Blucher having been compelled to retreat, Wellington fell back also towards the village of Waterloo, to preserve his communications

with that commander. On the 18th instant his army of about 65,000 men was arranged in six divisions, their left leaning in the direction of the Prussian lines. Besides a variety of desultory attacks, Napoleon made three principal assaults to break the English centre before Blucher could arrive. Wellington threw his infantry into hollow squares, which effectually resisted every charge in succession. Artillery alone produced any impression; and certainly there did occur a crisis when the imperial guard, for the third time endeavouring to carry their point, imagined that the tide of conflict was turning in their favour. Bonaparte then ordered forward at once the bulk of his cavalry to complete his victory. The British maintained their ground with undaunted valour: both wings were slightly advanced, the main line standing where it had all along stood through the entire struggle; so that it was into a sort of crescent that the double columns of the cuirassiers rushed down to inevitable destruction. Napoleon beheld them from afar as they dashed gallantly on,—recoiled,—and then dashed on again. It was, however, of no avail; rank after rank melted away. Bulow now emerged from a wood with a couple of Prussian brigades; Blucher with his brave battalions also at last appeared. The battle was clearly in the hands of the allies, their adversaries giving way every where: by nightfall the Duke of Wellington could announce a complete victory. His colleagues undertook the pursuit as the French fled from the field: not more than 40,000 out of their entire army were ever again embodied.

So ended this memorable action, after which there was very little fighting. The loss in men and munitions was immense on the part of the vanquished; the victors had only to overtake, slaughter, or capture. Before June expired Blucher was in sight of Paris, when a capitulation was signed, by virtue of which the imperialists were to evacuate the capital and retire behind the Loire. Napoleon abdicated finally in favour of his son; surrendering himself to the disposal of the Prince Regent, by whose ministers he was conveyed to St. Helena, which he reached on the 16th of October, A.D. 1815; and where he remained

a prisoner of war until his death. Louis XVIII. returned to his metropolis, after an absence of one hundred days. It was now agreed by the second treaty of Paris, concluded after long conferences on the 20th of November, that the northern and eastern frontiers of France, with eighteen fortresses, should be occupied at her own cost, for at least three years, by an allied army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Wellington; that seven hundred millions of francs should be paid as a remuneration for the expenses incurred in the restoration of order; and that Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs as far as the Lauter, as well as all that remained attached to France, but which really belonged to Savoy, should be ceded. But France was allowed to retain the Venaissin and all her other limits, with so little change, that if any thing, she rather gained than otherwise in the mere amount of superficial surface, as compared with her actual extent prior to the Revolution. It is well known that Austria gasped and strove hard for the re-acquisition of Lorraine, Alsace, and even Burgundy, or at least Franche Comté; but happily the moderation of Alexander, with whom Richlieu, the minister of Louis, was on terms of the most intimate friendship, assisted by the wisdom and weight of Wellington, Castlereagh, Aberdeen, and others, prevented any such preposterous partition, which, by the severance of the French monarchy, would have in fact weakened the heart and centre of Europe. Murat also fell with his brother-in-law, being dethroned through the ambiguity of his conduct; and afterwards shot as a rebel when he attempted to recover his kingdom. Norway resisted her transfer from Denmark to Sweden, but in vain: as having proved faithful to France, the court of Copenhagen met with slight mercy; nor could it have expected any thing better amidst the political humiliation of her late so powerful ally. Even the Louvre was stripped of its treasures; the pictures and statues brought there during the period of the past wars were removed to their proper places, some before, and the rest after the conclusion of peace. The

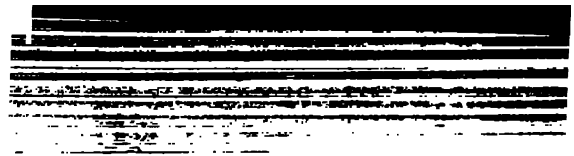
Bourbons were brought back to their royal inhe
an arduous task to perform; intruded and su
foreign bayonets, they had to heal the wounds
the vanity of a people who connected their ver
with national defeat and mortification. The Cha
have worked worse than it afterwards did; for w
other defects, there were constructed two chamb
of peers, hereditary or for life, to be nominate
crown; the other of deputies, elected by a cons
less than a hundred thousand in number, to r
thirty millions of population. There was to be a
aristocracy, without prestige or territorial basis, wi
enough democracy to keep the revolutionary spirit
and induce it to catch at the first opportunity for effi
an explosion. The Toryism of Great Britain was
rampant; having of late experienced no single check
cept in the distant disasters of an American war. Be
the Atlantic, the United States had grown with r
strides: Louisiana had been purchased from Bonapa
who had acquired it from Spain by the secret treaty
St. Ildefonso, in A.D. 1801. British orders in coun
arising out of the absurd continental system insisted up
by France, inflicted enormous mischief upon the commerc
and rights of neutrals in general, and North American mer
chants in particular. Presidents remonstrated with great
dignity, but little success. At length war was declared at
Washington, A.D. 1812. At sea, England lost within six
months more than two hundred trading vessels; but the
attacks upon Canada all failed, and hostile expeditions
found their way into the interior of the great republic.
Still it must be admitted that, upon the whole, she gained
far more than she suffered, both in naval and land actions.
Her victory at New Orleans over General Pakenham, in
January A.D. 1815, has placed the name of Jackson high
amongst military heroes; and if there is a flag at which
Great Britain looks with the profoundest respect and ad-
miration, it is that of the United States of North America.
The peace of Ghent between the two countries, mother
and daughter, was concluded on Christmas-day, A.D. 1814,

only a fortnight before the disastrous affair of New Orleans; which, of course, would not have happened had the pacification been but known.

The Congress of Vienna now completed its labours, cautiously proceeding to reconstruct the federative policy of Europe. It was a mighty and important work, of which future generations may perhaps be able to form a more correct estimate than our own can hope to do; but much may be already said on the sides of failure and success. The influence of public opinion, although not what it ought to have been, was nevertheless strongly illustrated, so as to prove that the French Revolution had not happened in vain. It was admitted, to use the expressions of Professor Heeren, "that princes and nations do not exist to make war upon each other, unless forced by necessity; that states, in forming a free political system, must mutually respect the independence of each other; that constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion in legislation, especially as to taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils which must be abolished; that a legitimate share of freedom should be allowed to intercommunication of ideas, by means of the pen and press; finally, and above all, that there is *a connection between religion, policy, and morality*, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree: all these were maxims either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowledged." A restoration of the balance of power was repeatedly avowed as among the objects nearest the heart of the leading members. Germany was to be a confederation united by a league, for the maintenance of the tranquillity and political equilibrium of Europe. Its concerns were to be managed by a federative diet, with Austria for its president; the sovereignties being thirty-nine in number, from that of the emperor down to Hesse-Homburg, and including the four free cities of Lubeck, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg. The Austrian monarchy acquired the Lombardo-Venetian kingdoms; the three secundo-genitures of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma; the Illyrian provinces, Dalmatia, Ragusa, and its islands, to the gulf of Cattara; the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Saltzberg

to the Salza; the cessions of the Innviertel and Hau
viertel; and from Russia what it had yielded in East
licia. Prussia recovered what it had lost at Tilsit; h
indemnified with almost half Saxony, Swedish Pomer
Cleves, Berg, Ahrenberg, and other districts of Westph
as also the Duchy of Posen. Hanover was elevated to
regal rank, and somewhat aggrandised with East Frisia
Hildesheim, and other additions, in exchange for cert
cessions. Holland was united to the Netherlands, and
cognised as a kingdom, with a constitutional governme
Great Britain acquired Malta and the Ionian Islands, Trin
dad, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Surinam in the West Indies
besides Heligoland off the Elbe in the Northern Sea, wit
the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Cochin, and
the Mahratta conquests, in Africa and the East. Switzer
land was augmented with three cantons, and its perpetual
neutrality acknowledged. The principle of legitimacy was
recognised in the Bourbons resuming their thrones of
France, Spain, Naples, and Sicily, and the Duchy of Lucca.
Portugal and the Brazils still remained in the house of
Braganza; but the South American colonies of Mexico,
Peru, Chili, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres, asserted their
independence as against the court of Madrid, and broke
up into about ten republics. Sardinia acquired Genoa;
the memorable Isle of Elba, with the Stato degli Presidi,
fell to Tuscany. Denmark had nothing but Swedish Po-
merania for its loss of Norway, which it exchanged with
Prussia for the Duchy of Lauenberg. The Norwegians
had their liberties and separate existence most amply se-
cured under Bernadotte as sovereign of Sweden. Russia
helped herself to all Finland, Bessarabia, and part of Mol-
davia; besides the kingdom of Poland, with the greater
portion of the former Duchy of Warsaw. But the most
wonderful phenomenon of all was the restoration of His
Holiness Pius VII. to the secular dominions of the Church
in their perfect integrity, allowing for the surrender of
Avignon. One of his first measures had been the revival
of the Order of St. Ignatius, by a bull bearing date, with
the seal of the Fisherman, the 7th of August, A.D. 1814.
It will be remembered that the providential agents in so

solemn an act of justice and restitution as that of once more presenting the sacred Chair of St. Peter with the Pontifical States, were the Protestantism of Great Britain, the Latitudinarianism of Prussia, and the Sclavonian Schism of Russia. Amidst the acclamations of the Catholic powers, few can fail to see the finger of Almighty God designating the divine origin of His own religion; at whose feet every enemy is destined to bow, in willing or involuntary submission; whose inherent vitality becomes every day more and more visible; and whose light, in its ultimate and irresistible brilliancy, will break through every cloud, until the whole earth shall be illuminated with its glory. *Blessed be the Lord who hath exalted it; and may He reign over it for ever and ever! Blessed are all they that love thee, and rejoice in thy peace! Nations from afar shall come to thee; and shall bring gifts, and adore the Lord in thee; and shall esteem thy land as holy. For Thou art great, O Lord, for ever; and Thy kingdom is unto all ages.*



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Treaty of Amiens, 447.
Treaty of Badajos, 447.
Treaty of Bromsebrae, 400.
Treaty of Carlowitz, 337.
Treaty of Cherasco, 295.
Treaty of Florence, 449.
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Treaty of Luneville, 447.
Treaty of Mersen, 130.
Treaty of Oliva, 328.
Treaty of Paris, 465.
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Treaty of Ried, 461.
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Union of Norway with Denmark, 400.
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York, the Duke of, 447.
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Zeno, Emperor of the East, 15, 21-2.
Zenta, battle of (1698), 339.
Zisca, John, the blind, inventor of modern fortifications, 225.
Znaym, battle of (1809), 455.
Zoa, Empress, consort of Leo VI., 89.
Zorndorf, battle of (1757), 381.
Zummerhausen, battle of (1648), 303.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF MODERN HISTORY FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

FIRST CENTURY.

	A.D.
War in Germany	1
Conspiracy of Cinna; adoption of Tiberius	4
A famine	5
Defeat and death of Varus in Germany	9
Conspiracy, fall, and death of Sejanus, minister to Tiberius	31
Crucifixion and Death of our Saviour	33
His Resurrection and Ascension, and Descent of the Holy Ghost	*ib.
Martyrdom of St. Stephen	36
Conversion of St. Paul	37
Death of Tiberius	ib.
St. Matthew writes his Gospel about this time	38
Expedition of Plautus and Claudius to Britain	43
Adoption of Nero by Claudius	50
Cologne founded by Agrippina	ib.
Caractacus carried in chains to Rome	51
Claudius murdered by Agrippina	54
Death of Britannicus	55
Murder of Agrippina by Nero	59
St. Paul shipwrecked at Malta	61
The Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke written about this time	63
Conflagration of Rome; persecution of the Christians begins	65
Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul	66
Revolt of Vindex	68
Otho defeated at Bedriacum	69
Jerusalem destroyed by Titus	70
Temple of Janus shut	71
Antiochus, king of Commagene, subdued	72

* The best authorities are agreed that our Saviour was crucified four years before the year in which it is placed in the common chronology. "According to the unanimous testimony of the ancients, Christ suffered in the year of the consulate of the two Gemini, which was the twenty-ninth of the vulgar era."—*Rev. Alban Butler, in note to the life of St. Peter, in the Lives of the Saints.*

Dedication of the Temple of Peace
Agricola arrives in Britain
Pompeii and Herculaneum destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius
Great pestilence and conflagration in Rome; the Capi stroyed
Death of Titus
Caledonians defeated by Agricola
Death of Agricola
Sarmatian war
The second persecution of the Christians
Sedition of the Prætorians
St. John writes his Gospel and the Apocalypse about this tim

SECOND CENTURY.

The Dacian war.
Pliny, proconsul of Bithynia, mentions the Christians in a lett to Trajan
Conquest of Arabia by Cornelius Palma
The Parthian war begins
Third persecution of the Christians
Fourth persecution of the Christians
The Emperor Hadrian arrives in Britain
Death of Marcus Aurelius
Revolt of the Jews
Rescript of Antoninus in favour of the Christians
Battle of Lyons
Septimus Severus takes Ctesiphon

THIRD CENTURY.

Fifth persecution of the Christians 202
Severus penetrates into North Britain, and builds the wall between the rivers Forth and Clyde 208-9
The consul Emilius defeats the Gauls in Etruria 223
The Arsacidæ dynasty ends, and that of the Sassanidæ commences 229
Sixth persecution of the Christians 235
Expedition of Gordian against the Persians 242
Seventh persecution against the Christians 250
Campaign of Decius against the Goths ib.
Eighth persecution against the Christians 257
Claudius defeats the Goths near Naissus, in Dardania 269
Ninth persecution of the Christians 272
Birth of Constantine the Great 274
The Germans expelled from Britain by Probus 277
Irruption of the Gauls into Greece 279
Election of Diocletian to the empire 284

	A.D.
olt of Carausius in Britain	287
ain reconquered by Constantius Chlorus	296
Persians defeat Galerius Maximus on the Euphrates	*ib.*
es defeats the king of Persia in Armenia	297

FOURTH CENTURY.

th persecution of the Christians	303
stantine the Great elected emperor by the army	306
x Roman emperors at once	309
ristianity first generally tolerated by law in the Roman empire by an edict of Constantine the Great at Milan	313
e Gothic war	322
cinius overthrown by Constantine before Adrianople	323
onstantine the Great sole Roman emperor	324
e issues a general edict of toleration	*ib.*
oundation of Constantinople	*ib.*
irst general Council of Nice	325
iscovery of the True Cross by St. Helen	327
The seat of secular empire removed from Rome to Constantinople	330
Alaric crosses the Danube	331
Constantine the Great destroys the pagan temples	*ib.*
Defeat of the Goths at Mæsia	332
Wisumir, king of the Vandals, defeated	334
Peace in the empire	335
Baptism and Death of Constantine the Great	337
Commencement of the Persian war	*ib.*
Division of the empire	338
Irruption of the Scots and Picts into Britain	339
Defeat of Constantine II. at Singara by Shapoor, king of Persia	348
Battle of Mursa	351
Constantine conquers Italy	352
Battle of Mount Seleucus	353
Council of Arles	*ib.*
Council of Milan	355
Julian subdues the Franks	358
Council of Rimini	360
Julian the apostate sole emperor	361
Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem defeated by miraculous interposition	363
Julian invades Assyria	*ib.*
The Alemanni invade Gaul	365
Persecution of the Catholics in the East	366
Attack of the Saxons on Britain repulsed by Theodosius the elder	368
Union of the Goths and Huns	377
Baptism of Theodosius the Great	380
Fall of *Arianism in Constantinople*	*ib.*

	A.D.
The second general Council held at Constantinople	381
Miraculous victory of Theodosius over Eugenius and Argobastes	394
Death of Theodosius the Great	395
Athens taken by Alaric	396
Alaric proclaimed king of the Visigoths	398

FIFTH CENTURY.

Alaric invades Italy	401
Alaric overruns Europe	402
Defeats of the Goths in Italy	402–5
The Vandals pass the Rhine under Godesil and Gunderic	406
Rome taken and plundered by the Goths	410
Death of Alaric	*ib.*
Burgundian kingdom begins under Gundicar	418
Beginning of the French monarchy	420
The Romans finally leave Britain	427
The third general Council held at Ephesus	431
The Burgundians invade Belgium	435
Publication of the Theodosian Code	438
The Vandal kingdom in Africa begins	439
The Saxons invade Britain, and commence the Heptarchy	445
Ravages of Attila in Germany and France	450
Attila defeated at Chalons	451
The fourth general Council, of Chalcedon	*ib.*
Attila invades Italy	452
Foundation of Venice	*ib.*
The Empress Pulcheria dies in the odour of sanctity	453
Death of Attila	*ib.*
Rome sacked by Genseric and his Vandals	455
Hengist establishes himself in the kingdom of Kent	457
The Visigoths conquered in Spain and Gaul	463
The Vandals defeated by the Emperor Leo	467
Empire of the Huns extinguished	468
Rome sacked by the Goths	472
Overthrow of the Western Empire	476
Death of Genseric, king of the Vandals	477

SIXTH CENTURY.

Computation of time by the Death of Clovis	511
Christian era	516
Establishment of Cerdic in Essex	519
Accession of Justinian to the Eastern Empire	527
The Justinian Code	529
The Justinian Pandects	530
Sovereignty of Essex assumed by Erchenwin	*ib.*
The Franks conquer Burgundy	532
Reduction of Carthage by Belisarius	533

	A.D.
Conquest of Africa by Belisarius	535
The Franks invade Italy	538
Suppression of the Roman Consulate by Justinian	541
Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, invades Italy	542
First appearance of the Turks in Asia	545
Rome taken by Totila	546
Taken a second time by him	549
Illyria ravaged by the Schlavonians	550
The Roman Senate ceases to exist, *circa*	551
Silk introduced into Europe from China	*ib.*
Narses invades Italy, and takes Rome	552
The fifth general Council, of Constantinople	553
Death of Childebert	558
Death of Justinian, emperor and legislator	565
Death of Belisarius	*ib.*
Defection and death of Narses	567
Birth of Mahomet	569
Government of the Lombards in Italy	575
Creda founds the kingdom of Mercia	586
Conversion of the Visigoths to the true faith	587
Christianity introduced into Britain by St. Augustine	597

SEVENTH CENTURY.

St. Paul's and St. Peter's (now Westminster Abbey) founded about	600
The Schlavonians and Avari ravage Italy	*ib.*
Murder of the Emperor Maurice	602
The usurper Phocas deposed and murdered	610
Conquest of Syria by Khosrou	611
Capture of Jerusalem and conquest of Palestine by Khosrou	614
Alexandria taken by the Persians	615
Conquest of Egypt and Asia Minor by Khosrou	616
Flight of Mahomet, and rise of Mahometanism	622
Expeditions of Heraclius against Persia	*ib.*
Conquest of Arabia	629–32
Jerusalem taken by the Saracens	637
The Alexandrian Library destroyed	640
Death of the Emperor Heraclius	641
Persia subdued by the Saracens	*ib.*
Omar, Caliph of the Saracens, assassinated by a slave	643
First invasion of Africa by Abdallah	647
Defeat and death of Totila	652
First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs.	668
The sixth general Council, held at Constantinople	680
Pepin d'Heristal sole sovereign of France	687
Conquest of Africa by Akbah and Tezid	689
Establishment of the Republic and Doges of Venice	697

EIGHTH CENTURY.

	A.D.
Final conquest of Africa by the Arabs	709
Spain conquered by the Saracens	718
Second siege of Constantinople	716–18
Invasion of France by the Arabs	721
Commencement of the Iconoclast controversy	726
Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel	732
Pepin proclaimed king of the Franks	752
Foundation of Bagdad	762
Accession of Charlemagne to the throne of France	768
He puts an end to the kingdom of Lombardy	774
The seventh general Council held at Nice	787

NINTH CENTURY.

Charlemagne is crowned at Rome by the Pope	800
The Saxons finally subdued by Charlemagne	803
Venice founded	809
The Saxon Heptarchy united into one realm, called England	828
Origin of the Russian monarchy	839
Final division of the empire of Charlemagne	843
Birth of King Alfred	849
Commencement of the Greek schism	857
The eighth general Council, held at Constantinople	869
Photius the patriarch deposed, and the Iconoclasts anathematised	*ib.*
Defeat of the Danes by King Alfred	878
They retire from England	897

TENTH CENTURY.

The Normans established in Normandy under Rollo	912
University of Cambridge founded	915
The Moors defeat the Christians in Spain	920
Greenland discovered by the Icelanders, *circa*	950
Era of Christianity in Russia	956
Otho I. crowned emperor of the Romans.	962
Christianity introduced into Poland, *circa*	966
Hugh Capet founds the Capetian dynasty	987
Invention of clocks with balance	*ib.*

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Hungary erected into a kingdom	1000
Massacre of the Danes by Ethelred	1001
Sweyn, king of Norway, invades England a second time	1013
Invasion of England by Canute	1015
The Normans enter Italy	1018
Invention of the Gamut	1022

	A.D.
Commencement of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon	1035
Renewal of the Greek schism	1053
The Morabeths arise	1056
Origin of the Guelphs and Ghibellines	1061
Conquest of Wales by Harold	1063
The Norman Conquest of England	1066
Morocco founded by the Morabeths, *circa*	1069

N.B. These Mahometan sectaries are the same who are sometimes called Almoravites, or the "Men of Faith."

Tower of London commenced	1078
Domesday-book began	1083
Council of Clermont	1095
The first Crusade preached in Europe	1096
Order of Knights of St. John instituted	1097
Siege of Jerusalem and battle of Ascalon	1099

TWELFTH CENTURY.

Saracens defeated by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem	1103
Order of Knights Templars instituted	1118
The ninth general Council, of the Lateran	1124
Great fire in London	1132
The tenth general Council, of the Lateran	1139
The second Crusade	1147
Birth of Richard Cœur de Lion, at Oxford	1157
Council of Clarendon	1164
Invasion of Ireland by Strongbow, earl of Pembroke	1169
Assassination of Thomas à Beckett	1170
Conquest of Ireland by Henry II.	1172
The eleventh general Council, of the Lateran	1179
Diet of Mentz	1184
Defeat of the Christians by Saladin, and fall of Jerusalem	1187
Siege of Acre by the Crusaders	1189
The third Crusade	*ib.*
Richard I. defeats Saladin at Jaffa	1191

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The fourth Crusade	1202
Magna Charta extorted from King John	1215
The twelfth general Council, of the Lateran	*ib.*
The Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis founded	1226
The fifth Crusade, which may be reckoned from	1216 to 1228
The thirteenth general Council, of Lyons	1245
The sixth Crusade, the first under St. Louis	1248
House of Commons first summoned in England	1264

N.B. The deputies of boroughs, at all events, do not appear to have been summoned at an earlier date.

The seventh Crusade	1270

	A.D.
Commencement of the Hapsburg or Austrian dynasty	1273
Fourteenth general Council, of Lyons	1274
Termination of the Crusades	1291
A regular succession of English Parliaments from this year	1293
Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year, by Pope Boniface VIII.	1300

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Removal of the Popes to Avignon	1308
Fifteenth general Council, of Vienne	*ib.*
Independence of the Swiss Cantons	*ib.*
Battle of Bannockburn	1314
The Teutonic Knights settle in Russia	1331
Gunpowder invented by Schwartz, a monk of Cologne	1340
Oil-painting introduced by John Van Eyk	*ib.*
Battle of Crecy	1346
The Plague depopulates all Europe	1349
Battle of Poictiers	1356

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Battle of Halidoun Hill	1402
Battle of Shrewsbury	1403
University of St Andrew's founded	1411
The sixteenth general Council, of Constance	1414
Battle of Agincourt	1415
Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc	1429
The seventeenth general Council, of Basle	1431
Pragmatic sanction of Bourges	*ib.*
The eighteenth general Council, of Florence	*ib.*
Invention of printing in Europe, *circa*	1440
University of Glasgow founded	1450
Constantinople taken by the Turks	1453
Siege of Belgrade	1456
Battle of Bosworth	1485
Discovery of America by Columbus	1492
University and King's College, Aberdeen, founded	1494
The Portuguese sail to the East Indies	1497

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Brazil discovered by the Portuguese	1501
St. Helena and Ceylon discovered by Almeyda	1507
League of Cambray against Venice	1508
Sumatra discovered by the Portuguese	1510
The nineteenth general Council, of the Lateran	1512
Battle of Ravenna, Gaston de Foix killed	*ib.*
Battle of Flodden	1513
Treaty of Noyau	1516

	A.D.
Luther commences his public career	1517
St. Francis Xavier introduces Christianity into India	1522
Battle of Pavia	1525
Rome stormed, the Constable Bourbon killed	1528
First siege of Vienna by the Turks	1529
Diet of Augsburg	1530
Change of religion in England	1534
Insurrection of the Anabaptists in Germany	*ib.*
Order of the Society of Jesus founded	*ib.*
Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More beheaded	1535
The Statute of the Six Articles	1539
The Order of the Society of Jesus sanctioned by Pope Paul III. 27th September	1540
Birth of Mary Queen of Scots	1542
Council of Trent met, and continued its session 18 years, viz. from	1545 to 1563
Cardinal Beaton assassinated	1545
The Catholic religion restored in England	1553
Cardinal Pole succeeds to the see of Canterbury	1556
Change of religion in Scotland	1560
Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley	1565
Battle of Lepanto	1571
Massacre of St Bartholomew	1572
Pacification of Ghent	1576
Union of Utrecht	1579
Reformation of the Calendar	1582
Huguenot war renewed	1585
Judicial murder of Mary Queen of Scotland	1587
Defeat of the Spanish Armada	1588
Invention of the telescope	1590
Edict of Nantes	1598

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

First patent to the East India Company	1600
The Crowns of England and Scotland united by the accession of James I.	1603
City of Quebec founded by the French	1608
First intercourse with Japan by the Dutch	1611
New Amsterdam (now New York) founded by the Dutch	1613
Breaking out of the Thirty Years' War	1618
Batavia founded by the Dutch	1619
New England colonised by the Puritans	1620
Boston, in the United States, founded	1630
Colony of Maryland founded by Lord Baltimore	1634
The Long Parliament meets	1640
Battle of Edgehill	1642
Battle of Newbury	1643
Parliament held at Oxford	1644

	A.D.
Battle of Marston Moor	1644
Battle (the second) of Newbury	*ib.*
Battle of Naseby	1645
Great Peace of Westphalia	1648
Charles I of England beheaded	1649
House of Lords abolished	*ib.*
Commencement of the Commonwealth	1650
Battle of Dunbar	1650
Charles II. crowned at Scone	1651
Battle of Worcester	*ib.*
The Long Parliament dissolved	1653
Restoration of Charles II.	1660
Peace of the Isle of Pheasants	*ib.*
Royal Society instituted	1662
Carolina planted	1663
Great plague in London	1665
Great Fire of London	1666
John Sobieski raises the siege of Vienna	1683
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes	1685
Revolution in England	1688
Battle of the Boyne	1690
Battle of Aghrim	1691
Surrender of Limerick	*ib.*
Battle of La Hogue	1692
Massacre of Glencoe	1693

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Act of settlement of the crown	1701
Prussia created a kingdom	*ib.*
Gibraltar taken by Sir G. Rooke	1704
Battle of Blenheim	*ib.*
Battle of Ramilies	1706
Union with Scotland	1707
Battle of Pultowa	1710
Peace of Utrecht	1713
Pragmatic Sanction	*ib.*
Rebellion in Scotland	1715
Septennial Act passed	1716
The Quadruple Alliance	1718
The Mississippi bubble in France	1719
The South Sea bubble in England	1720
Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. recognised	1730
Commencement of the Silesian wars	1740
Battle of Fontenoy	1745
Rebellion in Scotland	*ib.*
Battle of Prestonpans	*ib.*
Battle of Culloden	1746
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748

	A.D.
Style introduced into the United Kingdom	1752
n destroyed by an earthquake	1753
e of Quebec	1759
uest of Canada	1760
of Fontainebleau	1762
partition of Poland	1772
ration of American Independence	1776
nder of Burgoyne's army	1777
endence of the United States recognised by England	1782
of Versailles	1783
achment of Warren Hastings	1786
Assembly of the Notables at Versailles	1787
ng of the National Assembly of France	1789
re and destruction of the Bastile	*ib.*
XVI. and his queen beheaded	1793
with France	*ib.*
as Corpus Act suspended	1794
ry of Lord Howe in the Bay of Biscay	*ib.*
en Hastings acquitted	1795
ry of Lord Bridport off L'Orient	*ib.*
partition of Poland	*ib.*
f Napoleon Bonaparte	*ib.*
rench victorious in Italy	1796
ry of Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent	1797
ry of Lord Duncan off Camperdown	*ib.*
rench invade Egypt	1798
of the Nile	*ib.*
ing of Seringapatam	1799

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

of Marengo	1800
of Hohenlinden	*ib.*
of Alexandria	1801
of Copenhagen	*ib.*
meeting of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and land, January	*ib.*
atholic religion re-established in France	1802
of Amiens	*ib.*
arte declared Chief Consul for life	*ib.*
ral of war with France	1803
of Assaye, Laswaree, and Argaum	*ib.*
eon declared emperor	1804
ption of the title of Emperor of Austria by the Emperor Germany	*ib.*
y off Cape Trafalgar, and death of Lord Nelson	1805
etween France, Austria, and Russia	*ib.*
der of Ulm	*ib.*
of Austerlitz	*ib.*

	A.D.
Treaty of Presburg between France and Austria	1805
Battle of Maida	1806
Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland	*ib.*
Battle of Jena	*ib.*
Battles of Eylau and Friedland	1807
Treaty of Tilsit	*ib.*
Bombardment of Copenhagen, and surrender of the Danish fleet	*ib.*
Jerome Bonaparte becomes King of Westphalia	*ib.*
Abdication of Charles IV. King of Spain	1808
Insurrection against the French in Spain and Portugal	*ib.*
Joseph Bonaparte declared King of Spain	*ib.*
Battle of Baylen	*ib.*
Murat declared King of Naples	*ib.*
Battle of Vimiera	*ib.*
Convention of Ciutra	*ib.*
Battle of Corunna	1809
Gustavus IV. of Sweden deposed	*ib.*
Austria declares war against France	*ib.*
Battles of Aspern and Wagram	*ib.*
Treaty of peace between France and Austria	*ib.*
Battle of Talavera	*ib.*
The Walcheren expedition	*ib.*
Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria	1810
Abdication of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland	*ib.*
Battle of Busaco	*ib.*
Bernadotte elected Crown-Prince of Sweden	*ib.*
Prince of Wales appointed Regent	1811
Battles of Barossa and Albuera	*ib.*
War between Russia and Turkey	*ib.*
Appearance of the great comet	*ib.*
Storming of Ciudad Rodrigo	1812
War between Russia and France	*ib.*
Badajoz stormed	*ib.*
Assassination of Mr. Percival, prime minister	*ib.*
Battle of Salamanca	*ib.*
Invasion of Russia by Napoleon	*ib.*
Battle of the Borodino	*ib.*
Moscow burned by the Russians	*ib.*
Disastrous retreat of the French army	*ib.*
War between Great Britain and the United States	*ib.*
Battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden	1813
Battle of Leipsic	*ib.*
Battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees	*ib.*
St. Sebastian taken by assault	*ib.*
The Society of JESUS restored by Pope Pius VI.	1814
The Allies enter France	*ib.*
Paris surrendered—abdication of Napoleon	*ib.*
Battle of Toulouse	*ib.*

	A.D.
Restoration of the Bourbons	1814
Treaties of peace between France and the Allies	*ib.*
Congress of Vienna commences	*ib.*
Norway united to Sweden	*ib.*
Treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States signed at Ghent	*ib.*
Belgium united to Holland	1815
Return of Napoleon from Elba	*ib.*
Defeats the Prussians at Ligny	*ib.*
Action at Quatre Bras	*ib.*
Battle of Waterloo—total defeat of the French	*ib.*

TABLE I.—[A.D. 1 to A.D. 476]—*continued.*

A.D.	Roman Emperors.	The Arsacidæ, Kings of Persia.	Popes.
142			St. Pius I.
157			St. Anicetus.
161	Marcus Aurelius. Lucius Verus, associate.		
168			St. Soter.
176			St. Eleutherius.
180	Commodus.		
192		Vologeses III.	St. Victor.
193	Pertinax. Septimus Severus.		
199		Artabanes IV., the last of the Parthian kings.	
202			St. Zephyrinus.
211	Caracalla. Geta.		
217	Macrinus.		
218	Heliogabulus.		St. Calixtus.
		Sassanian Dynasty.	
222	Alexander Severus.		
223			St. Urban.
226		Ardisheer.	
230			St. Pontian.
235	Maximin.		St. Anterus.
236			St. Fabianus.
237	Two Gordians. Gordian, junior.		
240		Shahpoor I.	
244	Philip the Arabian.		
249	Decius.		
251	Gallus. Voluscian.		St. Cornelius.
252			St. Lucius.
253	Æmilian, Valerian, and Gallienus.		St. Stephen.
257			St. Sixtus II.
259			St. Dionysius.
260	Gallienus alone.		
268	Claudius II.		
269			St. Felix.
270	Aurelian.		
271		Hoormuz I.	
272		Baharam I.	
275	Tacitus.		St. Eutychian.
276	Probus. Florian.	Baharam II.	
282	Carus.		
283			St. Caius.
284	Diocletian and		
286	Maximin, colleagues.		
293		Baharam III.	
296		Narses.	St. Marcellinus.
303		Hoormuz II.	
305	Constantius, Chlorus, and Galerius, colleagues.		

TABLE I.—[A.D. 1 to A.D. 476]—*continued.*

A.D.	Roman Emperors.	The Sassanidæ, Kings of Persia.	Popes.
306	Constantine the Great.		
308			St. Marcellus.
310		Shahpoor II.	St. Eusebius.
311			St. Melchiades.
314			St. Sylvester.
336			St. Mark.
337	Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius.		St. Julius.
352			Liberius.
361	Julian the Apostate.		
363	Jovian.		
364	Valens and Valentinian.		
366			St. Damasus.
367	Gratian a colleague.		
375	Gratian and Valentinian.		
379	Theodosius the Great.		
381		Ardisheer II.	
383	Valentinian alone.		
385		Shahpoor III.	St. Siricius.
	Emperors of the West.		
390		Baharam IV.	
395	Honorius.		
399			St. Anastasius I.
402			St. Innocent.
404		Yezdejird I.	
417			St. Zozimus.
418			St. Boniface I.
420		Baharam V.	
422	Valentinian III.		St. Celestine.
432			St. Sixtus III.
438		Yezdejird II.	
440			St. Leo the Great.
455	Maximus. Avitus.		
456		Hoormuz III.	
457	Majorian.		
458		Firoze.	
461	Severus.		St. Hilary.
467	Anthemius.		
468			St. Simplicius.
472	Olybrius.		
473	Glycerius.		
474	Julius Nepos.		
475	Romulus Augustulus.		
476	End of the Western Empire.		

TABLE II.—*From the Division of the Roman Empire to the Resto*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Persia.	Kings of the Visigoths.	Kings of the Vandals and Suevi in Spain.
395	Arcadius	For the corresponding reigns of the Emperors of the West and Kings of Persia, from 395 to 476, see Table I.	Alaric I.	
398				Gunderic.
406				
408	Theodosius II.			
409				Hermenric, Suevi.
412			Alhaulfas, in Spain.	
413				
415			Sigeric.	
—			Wallia, at Toulouse and part of Spain.	
419			Theodoric I.	
420				
427				
429				Genseric.
433				
436				
441				Rechila, Suevi.
443				
448				Rechiarius, Suevi.
450	Marcian.			
451			Thorismond.	
453			Theodoric II.	
457	Leo, the Thracian.			Maldras, Suevi.
458				
460				Frumarius, Suevi.
463				Remismund.
466			Euric.	
469				
474	Leo II. Zeno.			
476				
477				Hunderic.
481				
483				
484		Pallas.	Alaric II. ...	Gundamund.
488		Kobad.		
491	Anastatius I., the Silentiary.			
492				
493				
496				Thorismund.
498				
507			Genseric. Almalric, under Theodoric, King of the Goths.	
511				
514				

s in Alsace.	Kings of the Franks.	Kings of the Huns.	Popes.	A.D.
			For the corresponding Pontificates, from 399 to 468, see Table I.	395 398 406 408 409 412
...				413 415 —
	Merovingians.			419
	Pharamond (?)			420
	Clodion.			427 429
		Attila and Bleda		433
...				436 441
		Attila alone ...		443
	Merovius ...			448 450 451
		Hermisdas and Dengiric		453 457
	Childeric I. ...			458 460 463
...				466
		Empire of the Huns ended ...		469 474
	Kings in France.	Odoacer, king of the Heruli ...		476 477
	Clovis I. ...			481
			St. Felix II.	483 484 488
d ...		*Kings of the Ostrogoths.*		491
		Theodoric ...	Gelasius ...	492
				493
			St. Anastasius II. ...	496
			Symmachus	498 507
	Thierry I., Metz Clodomar, Orleans Childebert, Paris Clotaire, Soissons			511
			Hormisdas	514

TABLE II.—*From the Division of the Roman Empire to the Re*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Persia.	Kings of the Visigoths.	Kings of the Vandals and Suevi in Spain.
516				
518	Justin I., the Thracian.			
523				Hilderic.
526			Almalric alone.	
527	Justinian I.			
529				
530				Gelimer.
531		Noorsherwan.	Theudis.	
532				
534				
535				
536				
538				
540				
541				
548			Theodisel.	
550			Agila.	Cariaric, Suevi.
552				
553				
554			Athanagild.	
555				
558				
559				
561				
565	Justin II.			
567			Liuva I.	
				Exarchs of Ravenna.
568				Longinus.
569			Mirva.	
572			Leovigild.	
573				
575				
577				
578	Tiberius II.			
579		Hoormus.		
582	Maurice, the Cappadocian.		Eburic.	
583			Andica.	
584			Recared I.	Smaragdus.
586				

of the Suevi.	Kings in France.	Kings of the Ostrogoths.	Popes.	A.D.
und ...				516
				518
nar ...			St. John I.	523
		Athalaric ...	Felix III. or IV. ...	526
				527
			Boniface II.	529
				530
				531
ed by ert and }			John II. ...	532
	Theodebert I. of Metz	Theodatus ...		534
			Agapetus...	535
		Vitiges	St. Sylverius	536
			Vigilius ...	538
		Theodebald. ...		540
		Ararie		541
	Theodebert II. of Metz	Totila		548
				550
		Tela		552
		Narses, duke of Italy		553
				554
	Clotaire succeeds to Metz ...		Pelagius I.	555
of the Suevi.	Clotaire sole king of France ...			558
mir ...			John III.	559
	Charibert I., Paris. Gontran of Orleans. Sigebert I., Metz Chilperic I., Soissons			561
				565
				567
		Lombards.		
		Alboin		568
				569
				572
		Cleoph	Benedict I.	573
	Childebert II., Metz.			575
			Pelagius II.	577
				578
				579
				582
				583
	Clotaire II., Soissons	Autharis ...		584
ievi con- i by the ths. }				586

TABLE II.—*From the Division of the Roman Empire to the Re*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Persia.	Kings of the Visigoths.	Exarchs of Ravenna.
590		Baharam-Choubeen.		Romanus.
591		Khosrou Purvez.		
596				
597				Callenicus.
601			Liuva II.	
602	Phocas.			Smaragdus again.
603			Witeric.	
604				
606				
607				
610	Heraclius.		Gondemar.	
611				Johannes Lemigius.
612			Sisebert.	
613				
614				
615				
616				Eleutherius.
617				
619				Isaac.
620			Recared II.	
621			Suintilla.	
622				
625				
626				
628		Schiroush.		
630				
631		Sherrendesh, &c.	Sisenaud	
632		Yezdejird III., the last king.		
634				
636			Chintilla.	
638				Plato.
——				
640			Tulca.	
641	Constantine III. Constans II.		Chindaswind.	
642				
644				
648				Theodorus I.
649				Olympius.
652		Persia conquered by the Arabs under Othman.	Recheswind.	Theodorus again.
653				
654				
655				

Caliphs of the Saracens.	Kings in France.	Lombards.	Popes.	
			St. Gregory the Great	590
		Agilulph ...		591
	Thierry II., Orleans			596
	Theodebert II., Metz			597
				601
				602
				603
			Sabinian ...	604
			Boniface III.	606
			Boniface IV.	607
				610
				611
	Thierry II., also of Metz			612
	Clotaire sole king of France ...			613
			Deusdedit	614
		Adawald ...		615
				616
			Boniface V.	617
Arabs, or Mussulmans.				619
				620
				621
Mahomet, the founder of Mahometanism.				622
		Ariwald		625
			Honorius	626
	Dagobert I. ...			628
	Charibert II. ...			630
Caliphs of the Saracens.				631
				632
Abubeker, first caliph. ...				634
Omar I.				636
	Sigebert II. of Austrasia ...			638
	Clovis II. of Burgundy and Neustria			—
			Severinus	640
			John IV. ...	641
			Theodorus	642
Othman ...				644
				648
			Martin I.	649
		Rodoald		652
		Aribert I. ...		653
Ali			Eugenius I.	654
	Clotaire III., Neus.	Pertharistus ...		655

TABLE II.—*From the Division of the Roman Empire to the Re*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings in England.	Kings of the Visigoths	Exarchs of Ravenna.
657				
660				
661				
—				
666				Gregory.
668	Constantine IV. Pogonatus.			
670				
671				
672			Wamba.	
674				
676				
678				Theodorus II.
680			Ervigia.	
681				
682				
683		*Kings in England.*		
684				
685	Justinian II.	Alfred.		
686				
687			Egica.	Johannes Platon.
691				
695	Leontius.			
698	Tiberius III., Apsimar.			
700				
701			Witiza.	
702				Theophilactus.
705		Osred.		
706	Justinian II. again.			
708			*Emirs.*	
710				Johannes Rizocop.
711	Philippicus Bardanes.		Roderic. Taric.	Eutychius, the Eunuch
712			Musa.	
713	Anastasius II.			Scholasticus
714			Adelasis.	
715			Alhour.	
716	Theodosius III.	Cenred	*Kings of Asturias.*	
717				
718	Leo III., the Isaurian.	Osric.	Pelayo. Al Sama.	
720				
724				
727				Paul.
728				Eutychius again.
729		Ceolwulf.		
731				
737			Favila.	

ation of the Empire of the West—[395 *to* 800]—*continued.*

hs of the Saracens.	Kings in France.	Lombards.	Popes.	A.D.
			Vitalian ...	657
	Childeric II., Aus.	Gondibert ...		660
san		Grimoald ...		661
awiah I. ...				—
				666
				668
	Thierry III., Neus.			670
		Perthariatus again		661
				672
	Dagobert II., Aus.		Adeodatus	674
			Domnus ...	676
	Dukes.		St. Agatho	678
sid I. ...	Pepin and Martin.			680
	Pepin alone.			681
			St. Leo II.	682
awiah II. ...				683
rivan I. ...			Benedict II.	684
delmelic ...			John V. ...	685
		Cunibert.	Conon ...	686
	Pepin sole sovereign.		Sergius I.	687
	Clovis III., Neustria.			691
	Childebert III., Neustria,			695
				698
		Luitpert. ...		700
		Ragimbert. ...	John VI. ...	701
		Aribert II. ...		702
				705
alid I. ...			John VII.	706
			Sisisnius	708
			Constantine	710
	Dagobert III., Neustria.			711
		Ansprand		
		Luitprand. ...		712
				713
				714
liman	Charles Martel, Austrasia.		St. Gregory II.	715
	Chilperic II., Neus.			716
nar II. ...				717
				718
zid II. ...	Thierry IV., Neus.			720
shem ...				724
				727
				728
				729
			Gregory III.	731
				737

TABLE II.—*From the Division of the Roman Empire to the Re*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings in England.	Kings of Asturias.	Exarchs of Ravenna.
738		Eadbert.		
739			Alfonso I.	
741	Constantine V., Copronymous.			
742				
743				
744				
745				
747				
749				
750				
752				Ravenna conquered by the Lombards.
754				
755			Abderahman I., King of Cordova.	
756				
757		Osulf.	Froila I., King of Oviedo.	
759		Mull Ethelwold.		
765		Alred.		
768			Aurelio.	
772				
774		Ethelred.	Silo the Saracen.	
775	Leo IV.			
778		Elwald.		
780	Constantine VI. and Irene.			
783			Mauregat the Usurper.	
784				
786				
788			Bermudo I. and Hashem, Kings of Cordova,	
—				
789		Osred.		
790		Ethelred.		
791			Alfonso II., the Chaste.	
792	Irene alone.			
795		Erdulf.		
796			Albacam I., King of Cordova.	
800				

Caliphs of the Saracens.	Kings in France.	Lombards.	Popes.	A.D.
				738
				739
	Carloman and Pepin, Austrasia		St. Zachary	741
	Childeric III., Neus.			742
Walid II. ...		Hildebrand ...		743
Yezid III. ...		Ratchis, Duke of		744
Ibrahim		Friuli ...		
Merwan II. ...				745
	Pepin, sole sovereign, Austrasia and Neustria.			747
		Astolfus ...		749
Abdul Abbas ...				750
	Pepin the Little, King of France		Stephen II.	752
Almansor ...				754
			Stephen III.	755
		Desiderius, Duke of Istria		756
			Paul I. ...	757
				759
				765
	Charlemagne.		Stephen IV.	768
			Adrian I. ...	772
		Lombardy subdued by Charlemagne		774
Mohadi				775
				778
				780
				783
Hadi				784
Haroun al Reschid				786
				788
				—
				789
				790
				791
				792
			Leo III. ...	795
				796
	Charlemagne cr. Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III.			800

TABLE III.—*From the Restoration of the Western Empire under*

Emperors of the East.	Caliphs of the Saracens.	Emperors of the West.	Kings of France.
		Carlovingian Emperors.	*Carlovingians.*
A.D.			
801 Irene ...		Charlemagne.	Charlemagne.
802 Nicephorus I.			
809	Amin.		
811 Stauricius.			
— Michael I. Rhangabe.			
813 Leo V., the Armenian.	Mamun.		
814		Louis I., le Debonnaire.	
816			
817			
820 Michael II., the Stammerer.			
822			
824			
827			
829 Theophilus.		*Western Empire divided.*	
833	Motasim.		
836			
840		Lothaire I., Emperor of the West.	Charles II., the Bald.
842 Michael III. the Sot.	Wathek.		
843			
844			
847	Motawakel.		
850			
852			
855		Louis II., the German.	
856			
858			
860			
861	Mostanser.		
862	Mostain.		
863			
866	Motaz.		
867 Basil, the Macedonian.			
869	Mohtadi.		
870	Motamed.		
871			
872			

ings in Spain.	Kings of England, from the termination of the Heptarchy.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
ıso II., Oviedo cam II., Cor- 'a			Leo III. ...	801
				802
				809
				811
				—
				813
				814
			Stephen V.	816
			Paschal ...	817
				820
erahman II., dova				822
	Anglo-Saxon Kings.		Eugenius II.	824
	Egbert		Valentine Gregory IV.	827
				829
				833
	Ethelwulf ...			836
				840
ıiro I., Oviedo				842
		Kenneth II., Mac-Alpine		843
			Sergius II.	844
			St. Leo IV.	847
onno I., Oviedo				850
ıomed I., Cor- ra				852
			Benedict III.	855
	Ethelbald ...			856
			Nicholas I.	858
	Ethelbert ...			860
				861
				862
		Constantine II.		863
onso III., the eat, Oviedo	Ethelred ...			866
			Adrian II.	867
				869
				870
	Alfred the Great			871
			John VIII.	872

TABLE III.—*From the Restoration of the Western Empire under*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Caliphs of the Saracens.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
875			Charles II., the Bald, King of France.	
877				Louis II., the Stammerer.
879				Louis III.
880			Charles III., the Big, cr. King of Italy and Emperor in 851.	
881				
882				
884				
885				
886	Leo VI., the Philosopher.			
887			Arnulf, cr. Emperor in 896.	Eudes, Count of Paris.
888				
891				
892		Motadhed.		
893				Charles III., the Simple.
896				
897				
898				
899			Louis III., the Mild.	
901				
902	Montafi.			
903				
904				
905				
908		Moktader.		
910				
911	Alexander & Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus.		Conrad I.	
912				
913				
914			*House of Saxony.*	
918			Henry the Fowler.	
919	Romanus Lecapenus.			
920	Constantine VIII.			
922				Robert I.
923				Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy.
924				

s in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
				875
				877
				879
				880
		Aodh, or Hugh		881
		Eoacha, or Achy, and Grigg	Marin, or Martin II.	882
			Adrian III.	884
			Stephen VI.	885
dhir, Cor-				886
				887
h, Cordova				888
			Formosus	891
				892
		Donald		893
			Boniface VI.	896
			Stephen VII.	
			Romanus ...	897
			Theodorus II.	898
			John IX. ...	
				899
	Edward the Elder			901
				902
			Benedict IV.	903
			Leo V. ...	
		Constantine III.		904
Garcia, re ...			Sergius III.	905
				908
Oviedo				910
			Anastasius III.	911
hman III., 'a ...				912
			Lando ...	913
o II., King n ...			John X. ...	914
				918
				919
				920
				922
I., Oviedo				923
IV., the Oviedo	Athelstan, first monarch of England			924

TABLE III.—*From the Restoration of the Western Empire under*

A D.	Emperors of the East.	Caliphs of the Saracens.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
926				
927				William I., Long Sword.
928	Stephen and Christopher, &c. ...			
929				
931				
932		Kaker.		
934		Radhi.		
936		Decline of the Caliphat.	Otho I., the Great, cr. Emperor in 952.	Louis IV., the Stranger.
939				
941				
943				
944				
946				
950				
953				
954				Lothaire.
955				
956				
959	Romanus II.			
961				
963	Nicephorus II., Phocas.			
964				
965				
967				
969	John Zimisces.			
970	Basil II. and Constantine IX.			
972				
973			Otho II.	
974				
975				
976	Basil II. and Constantine IX.			
978				
982				
983			Otho III.	
984				
986				Louis V.
				House of Capet, 987—1328.
987				Hugh Capet.
994				
995				
996				Robert II., the Wise.
999				

rs in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
I., Navarre				926
o II., Oviedo				927
			Leo VI. ...	928
			Stephen VIII.	929
			John XI. ...	931
				932
				934
			Leo VII. ...	936
			Stephen IX.	939
	Edmund I. ...			941
		Malcolm I.	Martin III.	943
	Edred			944
no III., lo ...			Agapetus II.	946
		Indulf		950
				953
I., Leon	Edwy, or Edwin.			954
			John XII.	955
	Edgar.			956
m II., Cor-		Duff		959
			Leo VIII.	961
			Benedict V.	963
		Culen	John XIII.	964
o III., Leon				965
				967
II. Abarca, arre		Kenneth III. ...		969
			Benedict VI.	970
				972
			Domnus II.	973
	St. Edward, Martyr.		Benedict VII.	974
m II., Cor-				975
	Ethelred, the Unready.			976
do II., Leon				978
			John XIV.	982
			John XV....	983
				984
				986
				987
II., Navarre		Constantine IV.		994
		Kenneth III., the Grim		995
			Gregory V.	996
o V., Leon			Sylvester II.	999

TABLE III.—*From the Restoration of the Western Empire under*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Hungary.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1000		Stephen the Saint.		
1002			Henry II. the Saint	
1003				
——				
1009				
1010				
1011				
1012				
1013				
1016				
——				
1017				
1018				
1021				
1023			*House of Franconia.*	
1024			Conrad III., the Salique.	
1025	Constantine alone.			
1027				
1028	Romanus III., Argyrus.			
1031				Henry I.
1033				
1034	Michael IV., the Paphlagonian.			
1035				
——				
——				
1038		Peter the German.		
1039			Henry III., the Black.	
1040				
1041	Michael V., Calaphates.	Aba, or Owen.		
1042	Zoe and Constantine X., Monomachus.			
1044		Peter again.		
1045				
1046				

Charlemagne, to the Commencement of the Crusades—continued.

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
Sancho III., Navarre				1000
				1002
		Malcolm II. ...	John XVII.	1003
			John XVIII.	——
Mohamed II., and Suleiman, Cordova			Sergius IV.	1009
Mahomed II., Cordova ...				1010
Hashem II. again, Cordova ...				1011
			Benedict VIII.	1012
Suleiman again				1013
Motawakel, Cordova	Edmund II., Ironsides ...			1016
	Danish Kings.			
	Canute			——
Abderahman IV., Cordova ...				1017
Alcassim, Cordova				1018
Yahia Almotadi, Cordova ...				1021
Abderahman V., Cordova ...				1023
Yahia Almotadi, Cordova ...			John XIX.	1024
Hashem III., Cordova				1025
Bermudo III., Leon				1027
				1028
Gebwar ben Mahomed, Cordova				1031
		Duncan I. ...	Benedict IX.	1033
				1034
Garcia III., Navarre	Harold I., Harefoot			1035
Ferdinand, Castile				——
Ramiro I., Arragon				——
				1038
		Macbeth ...		1039
	Hardicanute			1040
				1041
	Edward the Confessor			1042
Mahomed ben Gehwar, Cordova				1044
			Gregory VI.	1045
			Clement II.	1046

TABLE III.—*From the Restoration of the Western Empire under*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1047		Andrew I.		
1048				
——				
1054	Theodora.			
1055				
1056	Michael V., Stratioticus.		Henry IV.	
1057	Isaac I., Comnenus.			
1058				
1059	Constantine XI. Ducas.			
1060				Philip I.
1061		Bela I., Hungary. Wratislas II., first king of Bohemia.		
1063				
1064		Salomon.		
1065				
——				
1066				
——				
1067	Eudocia and Romanus IV., Diogenes.			
1068				
1071	Michael VII. Parapinaces.			
1072	Andronicus I. & Constantine XII.			
1073				
1075		Geisa I.		
1076				
1077		Ladislas I.		
1078	Nicephorus III.			
1081	Alexius I., Comnenus.			
1086				
1087				
1088				
1093				
1094				
——				
——				

Charlemagne, to the Commencement of the Crusades—continued.

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
				1047
			Damasus II.	1048
			St. Leo IX.	——
Sancho IV., Navarre ...				1054
			Victor II.	1055
		Lulach		1056
		Malcolm III. Canmore ...	Stephen X.	1057
			Nicholas II.	1058
				1059
Mahomed Almostaded, Seville and Cordova				1060
			Alexander II.	1061
Sancho V., Ramirez, Arragon				1063
				1064
Alfonso VI., Leon				1065
Sancho II., Castile				——
	Harold II. ...			1066
	Norman Kings.			
	William the Conqueror			——
				1067
Mahomed Almostadir, Seville and Cordova				1068
				1071
Alfonso VI., Leon				1072
			St. Gregory VII.	1073
				1075
Sancho Ramirez, King of Arragon				1076
				1077
				1078
				1081
			Victor III.	1086
	William Rufus			1087
			Urban II.	1088
		Donald Bane ...		1093
Pedro of Arragon				1094
Pedro I., of Navarre		Duncan II. ...		——
Yussef ben Taxifin, Seville and Cordova.		Donald Bane again.		——

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1095		Coloman.		
1098				
1099				
1100				
1104				
1106			Henry V.	
1107				
1108				Louis VI.
1109				
1114		Stephen II		
1118	John Comnenus.			
1119				
1124				
1125			Lothaire II., the Saxon.	
1126				
1130				
1131		Bela II.		
1134				
——				
1135				
1137				Louis VII.
1138			Conrad III.	
1140		Ladislas III., Bohemia, Second King.		
1141		Geisa II., Hungary.		
1143	Manuel I., Comnenus.			
1144				
1145				
1149				
1150				
			House of Suabia.	
1152			Frederick I., Barbarossa.	
1153				
1154				
1157				
1158				

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
				1095
		Edgar		1098
			Paschal II.	1099
	Henry I. ...			1100
Alfonso I., Navarre & Arragon				1104
				1106
Ali ben Yussef, Sev. and Cord.		Alexander I. ...		1107
				1108
Urica and Alfonso VII., Castile				1109
				1114
			Gelasius II.	1118
			Calixtus II.	1119
		David I. ...	Honorius II.	1124
				1125
Alfonso VIII., Raymond, Castile				1126
			Innocent II.	1130
				1131
Garcia-Ramirez, Navarre ...				1134
Ramiro II., the Monk, Arragon				——
	Stephen			1135
Petronilla and Raymond, Arragon				1137
				1138
				1140
				1141
Taxfin ben Ali, Sev. and Cord.			Celestine II.	1143
			Lucius II.	1144
Ibrahim, Sev. and Cord.			Eugenius III.	1145
Abdelmumen, Sev. and Cord.				1149
Sancho VI., Navarre				1150
				1152
		Malcolm ...	Anastasius IV.	1153
	House of Plantagenet, 1154—1399.			
	Henry II. ...		Adrian IV.	1154
Ferdinand II., Leon				1157
Sancho III., Castile				
Alfonso IX., Castile				1158

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to the Cap*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1159				
1161		Stephen III.		
1162				
1163				
1165				
1174		Bela III.		
1180	Alexius II., Comnenus.			Philip II., Augustus
1181				
1183	Andronicus I., Comnenus			
1184				
1185	Isaac II., Angelus.			
1187				
1188				
1189				
1190			Henry VI., Asper.	
1191				
1194				
1195	Alexius III.			
1196	Angelus the Tyrant	Emeric, Hungary		
1197		Premislaus I., Bohemia, 3d King.		
1198			Philip of Suabia.	
1199				
1203	Isaac, &c., again.			
1204	Theodore I.	Ladislas II., Hungary.		
——	Baldwin I., Latin Emp.	Andrew II., Hungary.		
1206	Henry I., Latin Emp.			
1208			Otho IV.	
1212			Frederic II., King of Sicily.	
1213				
——				
1214				
1216				
1217	Peter de Courtenay, Latin Emp.			
1221	Robert de Courtenay, Latin Emp.			
1222	John Ducas Vataces.			
1223				Louis VIII.

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
			Alexand. III.	1159
				1161
Alfonso II., the Chaste, Arragon				1162
Yusef ben Yacub, Sev. and Cord.				1163
...		William the Lion		1165
				1174
				1180
			Lucius III.	1181
				1183
Yacub ben Yusef, Sev. and Cord.				1184
...			Urban III.	1185
			Gregory VIII.	1187
			Clement III.	
Alfonso IX., Leon				1188
	Richard I. ...			1189
				1190
			Celestine III.	1191
SanchoVII., Navarre				1194
				1195
Pedro I., Arragon				1196
				1197
			Innocent III.	1198
Mahomed Alnassar, Cordova & Seville	John			1199
				1203
				1204
				——
				1206
				1208
				1212
James I., Arragon				1213
Yusef Abu Yacub, Sev. and Cord.				——
Henry I., Castile		Alexander II. ...		1214
	Henry III. ...		Honorius III.	1216
Ferdinand III., the Saint, Castile, & Leon in 1230.				1217
				1221
				1222
				1223

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to the Cap*

A.D.	Emperors of the East.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1224				
1226				Louis IX., the Saint
1227				
1228	Baldwin II. and John de Brienne of Jerusalem, Lat. Emps.			
1230		Wenceslas III., Bohemia		
1234				
1235		Bela IV., Hungary		
1237	Baldwin alone dethroned by the Greeks in 1261.			
1238				
1241				
1243				
1249				
1250			Conrad IV. William of Holland.	
1252				
1253		Premislaus II., Bohemia.		
1254				
1255	Theodore Lascaris.			
1257			Richard, Earl of Cornwall.	
1259	John Lascaris.			
1260	Michael VIII., Palæologus.			
1261				
1265				
1270		Stephen V., Hungary.		Philip III., the Hardy
1271				
1272		Ladislas III., Hungary.	*House of Hapsburg.*	
1273			Rodolph.	
1274				
1276				
1277				

ings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
elwahid, Sev.				
id Cord.				
lel, Sev. and				1224
ord.				
				1226
amun, Seville				
id Cordova.				
Ali, Seville			Gregory IX.	1227
id Cordova.				
				1228
				1230
obald I. of Na-				1234
arre				1235
				1237
omed I., Gra-				1238
ada			Celestine IV.	1241
			Innocent IV.	1243
		Alexander III. ...		1249
				1250
honso X., Castile				1252
obald II., Na-				1253
arre			Alexander IV.	1254
				1255
				1257
				1259
				1260
			Urban IV.	1261
			Clement IV.	1265
ry I., Crassus,				1270
avarre ...			Gregory X.	1271
	Edward I. ...			1272
omed II.,				1279
ranada ...				
na, Queen of				1274
avarre ...				
			Innocent V.	
ro III., Arragon			Adrian V.	1276
			John XX. or XXI.	
			Nicholas III.	1277

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to th*

A.D.	Eastern and Ottoman Emperors.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of Fra
1278		Wenceslas IV., Bohemia.		
1281				
1282	Andronicus II., Palæologus, elder.			
1284				
1285				Philip IV., th
1286				
1288				
1290		Andrew III., Hungary.		
1291				
1292			Adolph of Nassau.	
1294				
——				
1295				
1298			Albert I. of Austria.	
1299	Othman, Ottom. Emp.			
1300		Charobert, Hungary.		
1302				
1303				
1305		Wenceslas, Bohemia.		
1306		Henry & Rodolph, Bohemia.		
1307			*House of Luxemburg.*	
1308			Henry VII.	
1309				
1310		John of Luxemburg.		
1312				
1313				
1314			Louis IV., of Bavaria, and Frederick III., of Austria, rivals.	Louis X.
1316				John I. Philip V.
1322				Charles IV.
1325				
1326	Orchan, Ottoman Emp.			
1327				
				House of Val 1328—1589.
1328				Philip VI.

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
				1278
			Martin IV.	1281
				1282
Sancho IV., the Great, Castile				1284
Alfonso III., Arragon ...			Honorius IV.	1285
		Margaret, Queen		1286
			Nicholas IV.	1288
				1290
James II., Arragon				1291
		John Baliol ...		1292
			St. Peter Celestine V.	1294
			Boniface VIII.	——
Ferdinand IV., Castile ...				1295
				1298
				1299
				1300
Mahomed III., Granada ...				1302
			Benedict XI.	1303
Louis Hutin, Navarre			Clement V.	1305
		Robert Bruce ...		1306
	Edward II. ...			1307
				1308
Almassar, Granada				1309
				1310
Alfonso II., Castile				1312
Ismail II., Granada				1313
				1314
John I., Navarre Philip, France and Navarre ...			John XXII.	1316
Charles I., France and Navarre				1322
Mahomed IV., Granada ...				1325
				1326
Alfonso IV., Arragon	Edward III.			1327
Joanna II. and Philip, Count of Evreux, Nav.				1328

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to the Cap*

A.D.	Eastern and Ottoman Emperors.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1329				
1330			Louis alone.	
1332	Andronicus III., Palæologus, the younger.			
1334				
1336				
1341	John Palæologus I.			
1342		Louis I., Hungary, elected King of Poland in 1370.		
1343				
1346		Charles I.		
1347	John Cantacucene.		Charles IV.	
1349				
1350				John II.
1352				
1354				
1355	John Palæologus rest.			
1359				
1360	Amurath I., Ottom. Emp.			
1362				
1364				Charles V.
1368				
1370				
1371				
1377				
1378		Wenceslas VI., Bohemia.	Wenceslas.	
1380				Charles VI.
1382		Mary, Hungary.		
1387				
——				
1389	Bajazet I., Ottom. Emp.			
1390				
1391	Manuel II., Palæologus.			
1392		Sigismund, Hungary, elected Emperor in 1411.		
1394				
1395				
1396				
1399				
1400			Rupert, Count Palatine.	

Kings in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
		David II., Bruce.		1329
				1330
Yussef I., Granada				1332
			Benedict XII.	1334
Pedro IV., Arragon				1336
				1341
			Clement VI.	1342
Joanna alone ...				1343
				1346
				1347
Charles II., Navarre				1349
Pedro, Castile.				1350
			Innocent VI.	1352
Mahomed V., Granada ...				1354
				1355
Ismail II., Granada				1359
Abusaid, Granada				1360
Mahomed V., again			Urban V.	1362
				1364
Henry II., Castile				1368
			Gregory XI.	1370
		Robert II., Stuart		1371
	Richard II. ...			1377
			Urban VI. Clement VII.	1378
				1380
				1382
Charles III., Navarre				1387
John I., Arragon.				——
			Boniface IX.	1389
Henry III., Castile.		Robert III. ...		1390
Yussef II., Granada				1391
				1392
			Benedict XIII.	1394
Martin, Arragon				1395
Mohamed VI. Granada ...				1396
	House of Lancaster, 1399—1460.			
	Henry IV. ...			1399
				1400

TABLE IV.—*From the Commencement of the Crusades to the Cap*

A.D.	Eastern and Ottoman Emperors.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.
1402	Soliman I., Ottom. Emp.			
1403				
1404				
1406				
1408				
1409				
1410	Musa Chelebi Ottom. Emp.		Jossus.	
——			Sigismund.	
1412				
1413	Mahomet I., Ottom. Emp.			
1416				
1417				
1419		Sigismund, Hungary, Emperor.		
1421	Amurath II., Ottom. Emp.			
1422				Charles VII.
1423				
1425	John II., Palæologus.			
1427				
1429				
1431				
1432				
1437		Albert, King of Hungary, Bohemia, and Emperor.		
1438			Albert II.	
1440		Ladislas IV., Hungary, King of Poland. Ladislas V., Bohemia.	Frederick IV.	
1445				
1447				
1448	Constantine XIII., Palæologus.			
1451	Mahomet II. Ottom. Emp.			
1453		Ladislas V., Hungary also.		

gs in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
				1402
			Bened. XIII. rest., dep. in 1417.	1403
			Innocent VII.	1404
I., Castile		James I. ...	Gregory XII., dep. in 1409.	1406
III., Granada				1408
			Alexander V.	1409
			John XXIII., dep. in 1415.	1410
				———
and, King of y, Arragon				1412
	Henry V. ...			1413
o V., Arragon				1416
			Martin V.	1417
				1419
				1421
	Henry VI. ...			1422
med VII., nada ...				1423
I., Navarre, of Arragon 558. ...				1425
med VIII., nada ...				1427
med VII. in.				1429
			Eugenius IV.	1431
f IV., Gra- . Mahomed ., Granada				1432
		James II. ...		1437
				1438
				1440
med IX., nada ...				1445
			Nicholas V.	1447
				1448
				1451
				1453

TABLE V.—*From the Capture of Constantinople by*

A.D.	Ottoman Emperors.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Kings of France.
1453	Mahomet II.		Ladislas V., Bohemia.	Charles VII.
1454		Frederick IV.		
——				
1455				
1458			Matthias, Hungary. George Podiebrad, Bohemia.	
1460				
1461				Louis XI.
1464				
1466				
1471			Ladislas VI., Bohemia.	
1474				
1479				
——				
1481	Bajazet II.			
1483				Charles VIII.
1484				
1485				
1488				
1490			Ladislas VI., Hungary also.	
1492				
1493		Maximilian I.		
1498				Louis XII. of Orleans.
1503				
——				
1509				
1512	Selim I.			
1513				
1515				Francis I. ...
1516			Louis II. of Hungary, and I. of Bohemia.	Henry II., Lower Navarre.
1519		Charles V., and King of Spain.		

ɔ in Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A.D.
I., Navarre	Henry VI.	James II.	Nicholas V.	1453
IV., Castile.				1454
ied X., ada ...				——
			Calixtus III.	1455
II., Navarre Castile			Pius II.	1458
	House of York, 1460—1485.			
		James III. ...		1460
	Edward IV. ...			1461
			Paul II.	1464
Hassan, ada ...				1466
			Sixtus IV.	1471
and V., the olic, and ella, Cas-				1474
r, Navarre				1479
s-Phœbus, arre ...				——
				1481
ine and i D'Albret, arre	Edward V. Richard III.			1483
bdallah, Abdallah el l, Granada, r. by Fer- nd in 1491			Innocent VIII.	1484
	House of Tudor, 1485—1603.			
... ...	Henry VII.			1485
		James IV.		1488
				1490
			Alexander VI.	1492
				1493
				1498
			Pius III.	1503
			Julius II.	——
	Henry VIII. ...			1509
				1512
		James V. ...	Leo X. ...	1513
				1515
s I. elected ror in 1519				1516
				1519

TABLE V.—*From the Capture of Constantinople by the*

A.D.	Ottoman Emperors.	Emperors of Germany.	Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.	Kings of France.
1520	Soliman II.			
1522				
1523				
1526			John Zapolski and Ferdinand I. King of Bohemia, rival kings.	
			Kings of Bohemia and Czars of Russia.	
1533			Ivan IV., Basilovitz, first Czar.	
1534				
1541			Ferdinand, sole king of Hungary, elected emperor in 1558.	
1542				
1547				Henry II.
1550				
1553				
1555				
1556				
1558		Ferdinand I.		
1559				Francis II.
1560				Charles IX.
1564		Maximilian II.		
1566	Selim II.			
1567				
1572				Henry III., King of Nav. & of France.
1574	Amurath III.			
1576		Rodolph II.		
1584			Feodor I., Czar.	
1585				
				House of Bourbon, 1589—1830.
1589				Henry IV.
1590				
				
1591				
1592				
1595	Mahomed III.			
1598			Boris Godonoff, Czar	
1603	Ahmed I.			
1605				
				

Kings of Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Scotland.	Popes.	A. D.
				1530
			Adrian VI.	1522
			Clement VII.	1523
				1526
				1533
			Paul III.	1534
				1541
		Mary I.		1542
	Edward VI. ...			1547
	Mary		Julius III.	1550
				1553
			Marcellus II. Paul IV.	1555
ip II. ...				1556
	Elizabeth. ...			1558
			Pius IV.	1559
				1560
				1564
			Pius V.	1566
		James VI. ...		1567
			Gregory XIII.	1572
				1574
				1576
				1584
			Sixtus V.	1585
				1589
			Urban VII.	1590
			Gregory XIV.	. .
			Innocent IX.	1591
			Clement VIII.	1592
				1595
p III. ...				1598
	House of Stuart, 1603—1689.			
	James I., of Scotland VI.			1605
			Leo XI.	1605
			Paul V.	——

TABLE V.—*From the Capture of Constantinople by the*

A.D.	Ottoman Emperors.	Emperors of Germany.	Czars and Emperors of Russia.	Kings of France.
1606			Vassili Chouiski, Czar.	
1610				Louis XIII. ...
1612		Matthias.		
1613			Michael Romanoff, Czar.	
1617	Mustafa I.			
1618	Osman I.			
1619		Ferdinand II.		
1621				
1622	Mustafa again.			
1623	Amurath IV.			
1625				
1637		Ferdinand III.		
1640	Ibrahim.			
1643				Louis XIV.
1644				
1645			Alexis.	
1649	Mahomet IV.			
1653				
1655				
1658		Leopold I.		
1660				
1665				
1667				
1670				
1676			Feodor II.	
1682			Ivan V. and Peter I.	
1685				
1687	Soliman III.			
1689			Peter the Great, alone.	
1691	Ahmed II.			
1695	Mustafa II.			
1700				
1702				
1703	Ahmed III.			
1705		Joseph I.		
1711		Charles VI.		
1713				
1714				
1715				Louis XV.
1721			Peter assumes the title of emperor.	
1724				
1725			Catherine I.	
1727			Peter II.	
1730	Mahmood I.		Anne.	

Kings of Spain.	Kings of England.	Kings of Prussia.	Popes.	A.D.
				1606
				1610
				1612
				1613
				1617
				1618
				1619
Philip IV. ...			Gregory XV.	1621
				1622
			Urban VIII.	1623
	Charles I. ...			1625
				1637
				1640
				1643
			Innocent X.	1644
				1645
	Commonwealth			1649
	Protectorate ...			1653
			Alexander VII.	1655
				1658
	Charles II. ...			1660
Charles II. ...				1665
			Clement IX.	1667
			Clement X.	1670
			Innocent XI.	1676
				1682
	James II. ...			1685
		Frederick I., King.		1687
	William III. and Mary.		Alexander VIII.	1689
			Innocent XII.	1691
				1695
Philip V. ...			Clement XI.	1700
	Anne.			1702
				1703
				1705
	Great Britain, 1707.			1711
		Frederick-William I.		1713
	House of Hanover, 1714.			
	George I. ...			1714
				1715
			Innocent XIII.	1721
Louis			Benedict XIII.	1724
Philip resumes				1725
	George II. ...			1727
			Clement XII.	1730

TABLE V.—*From the Capture of Constantinople by the*

A.D.	Ottoman Emperors.	Emperors of Germany.	Emperors of Russia.	Kings of France.
1740		Maria Theresa, Empress & Queen of Bohemia and Hungary.	Ivan VI.	
1741			Elizabeth.	
1742		Charles VII., of Bavaria.		
		House of Lorraine.		
1745		Francis I.		
1746				
1754	Osman II.			
1757	Mustafa III.			
1758				
1759				
1760				
1762			Peter III.	
——			Catherine II.	
1765		Joseph II.		
1769				
1774	Abdul Ahmed.			Louis XVI.
1775				
1788	Selim.			
1790		Leopold II., of Tuscany.		
1792		Francis II.		
1793				Revolutionary Tribunal.
1795				Directory.
1796			Paul.	
1797				
1799				Consulate.
1800				
1801			Alexander.	
1804		Emperor of Austria.		Napoleon, emperor. 1804—1814.
1807	Mustafa IV.			
1808	Mahmood II.			
1814				Louis XVIII. ...

ngs of Spain.	Kings of Great Britain.	Kings of Prussia.	Popes.	A.D.
		Frederick II. ...	Benedict XIV.	1740
				1741
				1742
				1745
inand VI. ...				1746
				1754
				1757
			Clement XIII.	1758
les III. ...				1759
	George III. ...			1760
				1762
				1765
			Clement XIV.	1769
			Pius VI.	1774
		Frederick-William II.		1775
les IV. ...				1788
				1790
				1792
				1793
				1795
				1796
		Frederick-William III.		1797
				1799
			Pius VII.	1800
				1801
				1804
				1807
ph Napoleon.				1808
linand VII.				1814

TABLE VI.—*Contemporary Sovereigns*

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Kings of Germany.
813	Harald I.			
842			Piastus.	
843				Louis I.
850	Eric I.			
854	Eric II.			
855				
861			Ziemovitus.	
876				Louis II.
877				
879				
883	Gorm the Old.			
887				Arnulf.
888				
889				
890				
892			Lesko IV.	
894				
899				Louis III.
900				
905				
911				Conrad I.
913			Ziemomislas.	
918				Henry I.
921				
922				
923				
926				Otho I.
927				
935	Harald II.			
937				
938				
943				
945				
950				
956				
964			Mieceslas I., duke.	
965				
973				Otho II.
983				Otho III.
985	Sweyn I.			

included in the foregoing Tables.

Kings of Italy.	Kings of Arles and Provence.	Dukes of Burgundy.	Dukes of Normandy.	A.D.
				813
				842
				843
				850
				854
	Charles, Provence.			855
				861
				876
		Richard ...		877
	Boson, Provence			879
				883
				887
nger, Duke Friuli ...				888
, Duke of Spoto, crowned nperor in 891.				889
... ...	Louis the Blind, Provence ...			890
				892
ıbert, emperor				894
				899
is the Blind, owned empe- r in 991 ...				900
nger again, owned empe- r in 915 ...				905
	Rodolf II., King of Arles, Burgundy, and Provence, united in 933		Rollo ...	911
				913
				918
		Rodolph ...		921
olf, King of urgundy				922
		Giselbert ...		923
h, Count de rovence ...				926
			William I.	927
				935
	Conrad, Arles			937
		Hugh Blk. Hugh the Great		938
			Richard I.	943
aire ...				945
nger and delbert ...				950
		Otho		956
				964
		Henry I. ...		965
				973
				983
				985

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Counts of Savoy.
992			Boleslas I., king.	
993				
996				
1001		Olaf Skotkonung.		
1014	Canute II.			
1025			Miecеslas II.	
1026		Edmund Colbrenner.		
1028				
1032				
1034			Richense, regent.	
1035				
1036	Canute III.			
1041			Casimir I.	
1042	Magnus, Norway.			
1043				
1046				
1047	Sweyn II.			
1051		Edmund Slemme.		
1054				
1056		Stenkill.		
1058			Boleslas II., king.	
1066		Halstan I.		
1072				
1075				
1077	Harald III.			
1078				
1080	Canute IV.			
1081			Ladislas II., Duke.	
1085				
1086	Olaus IV.			
1087				
1090		Inigo I.		
1094				
1095	Eric III.			
1099				
1100				
1101				
1102			Boleslas III.	
1105	Nicholas.			
1108				Amadeus II., Count of Maurienne, first Count of Savoy.
1111				

led in the foregoing Tables—continued.

s of Jerusalem.	Dukes of Burgundy.	Dukes of Normandy.	Counts of Sicily & Apulia, & Kings of Sicily.	A.D.
				992
	Rodolf III., Arles			993
			Richard II.	996
				1001
				1014
		Henry		1025
			Richard III.	1026
			Robert I., le Diable	1028
		Robert I. ...		1032
				1034
			William II.	1035
				1036
				1041
				1042
			William I., Apulia	1043
			Drogo, Apulia	1046
				1047
			Humphrey, Apulia	1051
			Robert Guiscard, count in 1060	1054
				1056
				1058
				1066
			Roger I., Sicily	1072
	Hugh I. ...			1075
				1077
	Eudes I. ...			1078
				1080
				1081
			Roger, Count of Apulia	1085
				1086
		Robert II. ...		1087
				1090
		Counts and Kings of Portugal.		
		Henry of Burgundy		1094
				1095
ey of Bouillon in I.				1099
				1100
			Roger II., Count and King of Sicily in 1130	1101
	Hugh II. ...			1102
				1105
				1108
			William II., Count of Apulia	1111

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Counts of Savoy.
1112		Philip I.		
1118		Inigo II. ...		
1127				
1129		Swerker I.		
1130				
1131				
1135	Eric IV.			
1137	Eric V.			
1138			Ladislas III., 2d king.	Baldwin III.
1142				
1146			Boleslas IV.	
1147	Sweyn III.			
——	Canute V.			
1148				Hubert III., the Saint
1150		Eric X.		
1154				
1157	Waldemar I.			
1162		Charles VII. ...		
1166				
1168		Canute.		
1173			Mieceslas III.	
1177			Casimir II.	
1182	Canute VI.			
1185				
1186				
1188				Thomas.
1189				
1192		Swerker II.		
——				
1193				
1194			Lesko V.	
——				
1197				
——				
1202	Waldemar II.			
1210		Eric XI.		
1212				
1218				
1220		John I.		
1223		Eric XII.		
1227			Boleslas V.	
1233				Amadeus III.

included in the foregoing Tables—continued.

Kings of Jerusalem.	Dukes of Burgundy.	Kings and Counts of Portugal.	Kings of Sicily.	A.D.
		Alfonso I. and Theresa ...		1112
Baldwin II. ...				1118
			Roger, Duke of Apulia	1127
		Alfonso alone, who takes the regal title in 1139		1129
			Roger II., Duke of Apulia, King of Sicily	1130
Fulke I. ...				1131
				1135
				1137
				1138
	Eudes II. ...			1142
				1146
				1147
				1148
				1150
			William I.	1154
				1157
Amaurus I. ...	Hugh III. ...			1162
			William II.	1166
				1168
Baldwin IV. ...				1173
				1177
		Sancho I. ...		1182
Baldwin V.				1185
Guy de Lusignan				1186
				1188
			Tancred	1189
Conrad and Isabel				1192
Henry I. ...				
	Eudes II. ...			1193
			William III.	1194
			Henry, emperor	
			Frederic, cr. emperor in 1212	1197
Frederic ...				
Amaurus de Lusignan, King of Cyprus ...				
				1202
John de Brienne				1210
		Alfonso II. ...		1212
	Hugh IV. ...			1218
				1220
		Sancho II., Capellus		1223
				1227
				1233

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Counts and Dukes of Savoy.
1241	Eric VI.			
1248				
1250	Abel.			
1251		Waldemar.		
1252	Christopher I.			
1253				Boniface Rolando.
1254				
1258				
1259	Eric VII.			Charlemagne.
1263				Peter le Petit.
1266				
1268			Lesko VI.	Philip I.
1272				
1279		Magnus I.		
1282				
1285				Amadeus IV., the Great.
1286	Eric VIII.			
1290		Birger II.		
1295			Premislas, king.	
1296			Ladislas IV.	
1300			Wenceslas, king.	
1304			Ladislas again, king in 1320.	
1305				
1309				
1315				
1320	ChristopherII.	Magnus II.		
1323				Edward.
1325				
1329				Almon, the Peace-maker
1333			Casimir III.	
1337				
1340	WaldemarIII.			
1342				
1343				Amadeus V., the Green Count.
1350				
1355				
1357				
1363				
1364				
1365		Albert I.		
1367				
1370			Louis, King of Hungary.	
1376	Olaus V.			
1377				
1382				

included in the foregoing Tables—continued.

Kings of Naples.	Dukes of Burgundy.	Kings of Portugal.	Kings of Sicily.	A.D.
				1241
		Alfonso III. ...		1248
			Conrad I.	1250
				1251
				1252
				1253
			Conrad II., or Conradin	1254
			Manfred ...	1258
				1259
				1263
			Charles I. of Anjou	1266
				1268
		Robert II. ...		1272
		Dionysius. ...		1279
			Pedro I., the Great, King of Arragon	1282
Kings of Naples.				
Charles II. ...			Sicily separated from Naples. James I.	1285
				1286
				1290
				1295
			Frederic II.	1296
				1300
				1304
	Hugh V. ...			1305
Robert				1309
	Eudes IV. ...			1315
				1320
				1323
		Alfonso IV. ...		1325
				1329
				1333
			Pedro II.	1337
				1340
			Louis I. ...	1342
Joanna I. ...				1343
	Philip I. ...			1350
			Frederick III.	1355
		Pedro I. ...		1357
	Philip II. ...			1363
	John V.			1364
				1365
		Ferdinand. ...		1367
				1370
				1376
			Mary I., queen	1377
Charles III. ...				1382

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Dukes of Savoy.
1383				Amadeus VII., the Red.
1385			Hedwig and Ladislas V., Jagello.	
1386				
1387	Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Norway, & Sweden.			
1391				Amadeus VIII., the Pacific, Duke of Savoy.
1396		Eric XIII., IX of Denmark.		
1397	Margaret and Eric IX., XIII of Sweden.			
1399			Ladislas alone.	
1402				
1404				
1409				
1412	Eric alone.			
1414				
1419				
1433				
1434			Ladislas VI.	
1435				
1438				
1440	Christopher III., and in 1441 of Sweden.			
1445			Casimir IV.	
	House of Oldenburg.			
1448	Christian.	Charles VIII.		Louis.
1458				
1465				Amadeus IX., the Benevolent.
1467				
1470		Sten Sture, Administrator.		
1472				Philibert, the Hunter
1481	John I., of Denmark.			
1482				Charles I., the Warrior.

included in the foregoing Tables—continued.

Kings of Naples.	Dukes of Burgundy.	Kings of Portugal.	Shahs of Persia.	A.D.
		John I.		1383
				1385
Ladislas. ...				1386
				1387
			Mary and Martin	1391
				1396
				1397
				1399
			Martin alone.	1402
	John sans Peur			1404
			Martin senior	1409
			Sicily united to Arragon ...	1412
Joanna II., of Bourbon				1414
	Philip III. ...			1419
		Edward		1433
				1434
Alfonso I., King of Arragon				1435
		Alfonso V. ...		1438
				1440
				1445
				1448
Ferdinand I.				1458
				1465
	Charles the Bold.			1467
				1470
				1472
		John II. ...		1481
				1482

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Dukes of Savo
1483		John II., L. of Denmark.		
1489				Charles II.
1492			John I., Albert.	
1494				
1495				
1496				Philip II., sur Terre
1497				Philibert II., Beautiful
1501				
1502			Alexander.	
1503		Swante N. Sture, Administrator.		
1504				
1506				Charles the Go
1513	Christian II. & of Sweden in 1520.		Sigismund I.	
1521				
		House of Vasa.		
1523	Frederic I.	Gustavus Vasa.		
1530				
1534	Christian III.			
1544				
1548			Sigismund II., Augustus.	
1553				Emmanuel Ph
1557				
1559	Frederic II.			
1560		Eric XIV.		
1568		John III.		
1574			Henry of Valois.	
1575			Stephen Batthori.	
1576				
1577				
1578				
1580				Charles Emma
1582				
1584				
1587			Sigismund III.	
1588	Christian IV.			
1592		Sigismund, King of Poland.		
1604		Charles IX.		
1611		Gustavus Adolphus.		
1618				
1625				
1627				
1630				Victor Amade
1632			Ladislas VII., Vasa.	
1635		Christina.		

led in the foregoing Tables—continued.

;s of Naples.	Princes of Orange.	Kings of Portugal.	Shahs of Persia.	A.D.
				1483
				1489
				1492
so II. ...				1494
nand II. ...		Emmanuel ...		1495
ric ...				1496
lom partition- y France and in in 1501.				1497
				1501
	Philibert de Chalons		Ismail ...	1502
				1503
				1504
				1506
				1513
		John III. ...		1521
			Tamasp I.	1523
	Rene de Nassau			1530
				1534
	William of Nassau			1544
				1548
				1553
		Sebastian ...		1557
				1559
				1560
				1568
				1574
				1575
			Ismail Meerza	1576
			Mahomed Meerza	1577
		Henry the Cardinal		1578
		Portugal united to Spain in 1580		1580
			Abbas I., the Great	1582
	Philip William			1584
				1587
				1588
				1592
				1604
				1611
	Maurice ...			1618
	Frederic Henry			1625
			Shah Soofe	1627
				1630
				1632
				1638

Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Kings of Sardi
A.D.			
1637			Francis Hyaci
1638			Charles Emm II.
1640			
1641			
1647			
1648 Frederick III.		John II., Casimir.	
	House of Deux-Ponts.		
1654	Charles X.		
1656			
1660	Charles XI.		
1666			
1669		Michael Koributh.	
1670 Christian V.			
1674		John III., Sobieski.	
			Kings of Sard
1675			Victor Amade obtains the of Sicily in and exchang Sardinia in 1
1683			
1694			
1697	Charles XII.	Frederic Augustus.	
1699 Frederic IV.			
1702			
1704		Stanislas I.	
1706			
1709		Frederic again.	
1711			
1719	Ulrica and Frederic		
1722			
1725			
1729			
1730 Christian VI.			Charles Emm III.
1732			
1734		Frederic II., Augustus.	
1735			
1736			
1741	Frederic alone.		
1746 Frederic V.			
1747			
1748			
1750			
	House of Holstein Gott.		
1751	Adolphus Frederic.		
1753			
1759			
1764		Stanislas Augustus.	
1766 Christian VII.			
1771	Gustavus III.		

'ed in the foregoing Tables—continued.

:s of Naples.	Princes of Orange.	Kings of Portugal.	Shahs of Persia.	A.D.
				1637
		House of Braganza.		1638
		John IV. ...		1640
			Abbas II.	1641
	William II. ...			1647
				1648
				1654
		Alfonso VI. ...		1656
	William III. ...			1660
			Soliman	1666
				1669
				1670
				1674
				1675
		Pedro II. ...		1683
			Hussein ...	1694
				1697
				1699
	William IV. ...			1702
				1704
		John V. ...		1706
				1709
	William V. ...			1711
				1719
			Mahmood	1722
			Ashraff ...	1725
			Tamasp II.	1729
				1730
			Abbas III.	1732
				1734
arlos.				1735
			Nadir Shah	1736
				1741
				1746
			Adil Shah	1747
			Shah Rookh	1748
		Joseph		1750
	William VI. ...			1751
			Kureem Khan	1753
and I.				1759
				1764
				1768
				1771

TABLE VI.—*Contemporary Sovereign*

A.D.	Kings of Denmark.	Kings of Sweden.	Dukes and Kings of Poland.	Kings of Sardi
1773				Victor Amadeu
1777				
1779				
1781				
1785				
1786				
1789				
1792		Gustavus IV.		
1795			Final partition of Poland.	
1796				Charles Emm IV.
1802				Victor Emms IV.
1806				
1808	Frederic VI.			
1809		Charles XIII.		
1815				

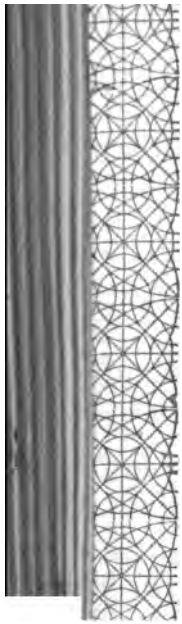
uded in the foregoing Tables—continued.

ngs of Naples.	Princes of Orange.	Kings of Portugal.	Shahs of Persia.	A.D.
				1773
		Pedro III. & Maria.		1777
			Abool Fatteh Khan	1779
			Ali Moorad Khan	1781
			Jaffier Khan	1785
		Maria alone. ...		1786
			Looft Ali Khan	1789
				1792
			Aga Mahomed	1795
			Fetteh Ali Khan	1796
				1802
ph Napoleon	William VII., King of the Netherlands in 1815.			1806
him Murat.				1808
				1809
inand IV.				1815

THE END.

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